# SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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# FOREWORD

The blueprint for Free India outlined by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in his presidential address at the Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress in February 1938, envisaged that the first task of the Government of Free India would be to set up a 'National Planning Commission'. He foresaw India's freedom and in order to accelerate the task of national reconstruction and fight against poverty, he spent the better part of his tenure as the Congress President in 1938, in paving the way for setting up the National Planning Committee under the aegis of the Indian National Congress.

Having talked of importance of National Planning at Haripura in February 1938, Netaji ensured before the year was out, that the 'National Planning Committee' was inaugurated by him on December 17, 1938. Netaji appointed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the first Chairman of this Committee. This National Planning Committee later was succeeded by the Advisory Planning Board set up by the Interim Government in 1946. Subsequently in Free India, the Planning Commission, as it is known today, was constituted in 1952.

When I joined as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, I recollected Netaji's writing on National Planning and realised that much of what he had advocated was still to be translated into reality. He had talked of a strong Central

Government backed up by meaningful Regional Autonomy. "*While unifying the country through strong Central Government, we shall put all minority communities as well as Provinces at their ease by allowing them large measure of autonomy*", Netaji had said in his Haripura address. The United Front Government's endeavour to introduce Cooperative Federalism and to strengthen the local bodies by empowering the Panchayati Raj Institutions is in a way the legacy of the perceptions conceived by Netaji, 60 years ago.

It is a happy augury that the commencement of the Ninth Five Year Plan will coincide with the birth-centenary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the Golden Jubilee of India's Independence.

In formulating the Approach Paper to the Ninth Plan, we made a departure from the past and utilised our meetings with the Chief Ministers of States not only to discuss their routine Annual State Plans, but also their perspectives and strategies about their approach to the Ninth Five Year Plan. For this purpose, the Planning Commission has also sought views of the Panchayati Raj Institutions, Voluntary Organisations and Cooperatives functioning at the grassroot levels. This was done to ensure that decentralisation was conceived not merely in the process of implementation of the Ninth Plan, but also in formulating the approach of the Plan. This is the essential feature of Cooperative Federalism, which we can claim as a proud heritage of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

In his address to the students of Tokyo Univer-

sity in November 1944, Netaji said "*If you are to understand Modern India, you have to take note of three important factors. The first factor is the ancient background, that is, the ancient culture and civilisation of India, of which the Indian people of today are conscious, and of which they feel proud. The second factor is the struggle, which has gone on without any break or interruption since we were finally overpowered by the British. The third factor consists of certain influences which have come into India from outside. Since 1857, modern liberal and democratic thought has been influencing the intellectuals of India to a large extent.*" Netaji, referring to the success of the people of Japan over Russia in 1904-1905 and the new awakening in China under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, said that the Indian revolutionaries have been exceedingly receptive to the influences exerted by the revolutionaries abroad. In the present context, when we are in the midst of Reforms, his thoughts are entirely valid. We have to accept the good influences from outside while being conscious and proud of our indigenous past.

Outlining his plan for Free India, Netaji advocated "a very big programme of industrialisation". He further said, "*The next problem in the degree of importance will be that of poverty and unemployment.... The third problem in Free India will be education*". Netaji said and added "*If we are to solve these three important problems, how are we going to do it ? Shall we leave it to private agency and private initiative or will the State take*

*up the responsibilities in solving these problems?*" Here again, in far away Tokyo, in the midst of Second World War in November 1944, Netaji emphasised the importance of National Planning.

The efforts to strengthen secularism has been an ongoing process. In his Tokyo speech Netaji had addressed himself to the problem of multiplicity of religions in India and said "*The Government of Free India must have an obsolutely neutral and impartial attitude towards all religions and leave it to the choice of every individual to follow particular religious faith.*"

At a time when we are passing through a turmoil on the question of morality in public life, we may recall the words of Netaji: "*There may be people who doubt whether a nation can rise to a high moral level, whether a nation can be farsighted and unselfish and undertake the work of establishing a new order. I have every faith in mankind. If it is possible for one individual to be unselfish, to live one's life at a high moral level, I see no reason why an entire nation cannot also rise to that level. This is a task not only for the leaders and the politicians, but for the whole nation especially for those who are the hopes of the nation — youth and the students*", Netaji had told the gathering at the Tokyo University.

Through this Commemorative Volume, we, in the Planning Commission, offer our humble tribute to the man whose initiative and pioneering work has laid the foundations of our Yojana Bhavan. On the occasion of the Birth Centenary of Netaji

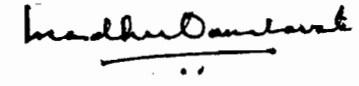
Subhas Chandra Bose, let us resolve to strengthen the decentralised planning process as an instrument of fulfilling the human, social and economic aspirations of the people.

This volume unmistakably reveals that in the field of Planning, Netaji was not only a pace-setter but a path finder as well.

In the final phase of the freedom struggle, Netaji had given to the people a stirring call, "*Give me blood and I will give you freedom*".

If Netaji were to be in our midst today, his inspiring message to the Indian people would have been, "*Give me your toil and tears and I will give you a happy and prosperous India, planned and built from the grassroot level, so that the gains of planning and development could reach the lowest of the low*".

Deputy Chairman,
Planning Commission,
New Delhi
January 12, 1997



(Madhu Dandavate)

# INTRODUCTION

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose became President of the Indian National Congress at a time when industrialisation of India was uppermost in the minds of most national leaders. What shape would industrialisation take in India was the question. Some advocated emphasis on cottage industry while others, looking at the power of the industrialised West, were votaries of large scale industrialisation. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had been an advocate of scientific thinking and had promoted the concept of "think-tanks" functioning within the Indian National Congress and formulating strategy for the future of India right from his days as a student, in 1921. Under his leadership, therefore, the concept of National Planning received the right direction. The Planning Commission, as it exists today, is an offspring of the efforts of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who entrusted the task of heading the first body called the National Planning Committee, which was inaugurated on December 17, 1938 in Bombay (now known as Mumbai) to his colleague in the national movement, Jawaharlal Nehru.

## The Wardha Resolution

Netaji was elected President of the Congress at the Haripura Session in February 1938. In its meeting at Wardha held between August 14 - 17, 1937, the Congress Working Committee had passed a resolution relating to the appointment of

an Experts' Committee to explore the possibilities of an All India Industrial Plan. In his Haripura presidential address, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose unveiled a secular, broad-based blueprint for national reconstruction and thus gave birth to the concept of National Planning. Under his presidentship in July 1938, the Congress Working Committee, referring to the Wardha resolution of August 1937, resolved that "as a preliminary step the President (of the Congress) was authorised to convene a Conference of the Ministers of Industries and call for a report of the existing industries in different Provinces and the needs and possibilities of new ones". Netaji outlined his concept of National Planning in his address delivered at the Industries Ministers' Conference in Delhi on October 2, 1938. Prior to this, in May 1937, he had convened in Bombay a conference of the Premiers of seven Congress Provinces. Thus having armed himself with the authority of his party and the expertise of the Government formed by the Congress in seven Provinces, Netaji went ahead with the formation of the National Planning Committee, which he inaugurated in Bombay on December 17, 1938.

Netaji took a deliberate decision to appoint Jawaharlal Nehru as the Chairman of National Planning Committee. Offering chairmanship to Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter dated October 19, 1938, Netaji wrote: "I hope you will accept the Chairmanship of the Planning Committee. You must if it is to be a success". As the Congress President and the architect of the idea of National

Planning, Netaji could have assumed the historic role of being the first Chairman himself. But he knew that for planning to be a success, consensus was a must. The period of history in which he headed the Indian National Congress was marked by sharp ideological contradictions within the national movement. Thus, in order to take everyone along and to ensure that the seeds of planning and industrialisation in India were sown on fertile soil, Netaji resisted the arid idea of himself dominating the first National Planning Committee though the formation of the Committee was made possible primarily because of the accelerated efforts undertaken by him as the Congress President.

**Planning: Free India's Priority**

Netaji's desire was that when a Government was formed in Free India, planning should receive the top-most priority. The formation of National Planning Committee in 1938 was the first step towards achieving this objective. On the eve of Independence, in October 1946, an Advisory Planning Board was set up at the national level by the Interim Government, which in turn paved the way for the formation of the Planning Commission in 1952.

It is perhaps appropriate that the Birth Centenary of Netaji coincides with the launching of the Ninth Five Year Plan as also the celebrations relating to the 50th Anniversary of India's Independence. Netaji, in his presidential address at the 51st Session of the Indian National Congress

held at Haripura in February 1938, said: "The very first thing which our future National Government will have to do would be to set up a Commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan of reconstruction. This plan will have two parts — an immediate programme and a long-period programme. In drawing up the first part, the immediate objectives which have to be kept in view will be three-fold — first, to prepare the country for self-sacrifice; secondly to unify India; and thirdly to give scope for local and cultural autonomy". The fact that the concept of Cooperative Federalism and three-tier planning, involving the Panchayati Raj Institutions, is being introduced now only shows how far-sighted Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was.

## Regional Autonomy

Way back in 1938 Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had foreseen the need for unifying India while giving scope for local infrastructure autonomy. By introducing the principle of Cooperative Federalism and involving the Panchayati Raj Institution in the process of planning in 1997, we are paying a befitting tribute to his far-sightedness. Referring to unity of India vis-a-vis scope for local and cultural autonomy, Netaji had said in his Haripura address: "These objectives may appear to be contradictory, but they are not really so. Whatever political talent or genius we may possess as a people, will have to be used in reconciling these two objectives.... While unifying the country through a strong Central Government, we shall have to put all minority communities as well as Provinces at their ease by

allowing them large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as governmental affairs."

It is a befitting tribute that while addressing the first meeting of the re-constituted Planning Commission held in New Delhi on August 19, 1996, the present Chairman of the Planning Commission, Prime Minister Shri H.D. Deve Gowda, said, "The role of Planning Commission has to undergo a change, as a think-tank of our medium and long term perspectives.... Recent economic reforms have concentrated mostly on the role played by the Centre.... Involvement of State Governments in the reform process has not been satisfactory. The States have to fully shoulder the constitutional responsibilities in important sectors.... Our Government is committed to advancing principles of political, administrative and economic federalism. Refashioning of Central-State relations would be necessary to reduce the political and economic reforms within the States.... The Planning Commission has to evolve practices and procedures of Cooperative Federalism. This Cooperative Federalism alone can contribute to the success of our economic reforms and make a lasting contribution to the governance, welfare and development of the Indian Union."

The Prime Minister, Shri H.D. Deve Gowda, referring to the 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendment Acts, emphasised the renewed importance of District Planning and Multi-level Planning. What the present Chairman of the Planning Commission said on August 19, 1996 highlighted the relevance of the thoughts of Netaji Subhas

Chandra Bose on National Planning as outlined in his speeches and interviews in 1938, 1942 and 1944. In his Haripura address Netaji underlined the need for synthesis between national aspirations and regional needs. Over the past six decades this synthesis has not matured. The introduction of Cooperative Federalism and the third-tier of planning, at the local bodies level, perhaps will give shape to the prophetic words of Netaji, enunciated in February 1938.

**Focus on Industrialisation**

In an interview to the famous Scientist, Prof. Meghnad Saha, on August 21, 1938 Netaji elaborated on the problems of national reconstruction. He said, "the problem we have to face is not industrial recovery, however, but industrialisation. India is still in the pre-industrial stage of evolution. No industrial advancement is possible until we pass through the throes of an industrial revolution....We can at first determine whether this revolution, that is industrialisation, will be comparatively a gradual one, as in Great Britain, or a forced march, as in Soviet Russia".

Netaji asserted in his interview to Prof. Meghnad Saha: "I have no doubt that when we have a National Government for the whole country, one of the first things we shall have to do is to appoint a National Planning Commission". This period of our history saw, in the aftermath of the Government of India Act, 1935, the formation of Congress Governments in seven Provinces of British India. Other Parties formed governments in the

rest of British India. The sub-continent in those days was divided into British India and Indian ruled States. While talking of the concept of National Planning, Netaji was very sure in his mind that the planning process had to engulf all the Provinces of British India as well as all the Indian States. While he tried to address his point of view to the Governments of the Seven Congress ruled Provinces, his intention was to engulf the British Indian States not ruled by the Congress, as well as the Indian Princely States, into the planning process so that a plan for reconstruction of unified India could be put on the anvil. Perhaps with this in view, after getting the sanction of the Haripura Session and later of the Congress Working Committee in July 1938, he initiated the process of setting up the National Planning Committee by using the Governmental forum rather than restrict it to the confines of the vast organisational structure of the Indian National Congress.

## The Pathfinders

Along with the efforts of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the dynamism provided by Jawaharlal Nehru, who had readily accepted Netaji's offer to head the National Planning Committee, the history of National Planning has in its annals the efforts of Dr. M. Visveswaraya and two other eminent scientists, Prof. Meghnad Saha and Dr. Gyan Chandra Ghose. Shri V.V. Giri, who was to later become the President of India, played a yeoman's role as the then Industry Minister of the Madras Province. His contemporary in Bihar,

Dr. Syed Mehmood, had presented an important working paper in the Industry Minister's Conference held in New Delhi between October 2-5, 1938. An important milestone was a meeting held at Bulabhai Desai's Warden Road residence in Mumbai on the afternoon of May 13, 1938, attended by Members of the Congress Working Committee, Premiers of British Indian States ruled by the Congress and other important personalities from the world of Industry, which had been presided over by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

## Fight Against Poverty

Before the advent of the Netaji era, the Congress Working Committee had only been talking of an industrial plan. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose introduced the concept of poverty and unemployment, national security and national reconstruction along with need for rapid industrialisation into the concept of National Planning.

Mumbai was chosen as the venue of the first meeting of the National Planning Committee because the erstwhile Government of Bombay Province was expected to provide the infrastructural support for the functioning of this historic Committee. The first meeting of the National Planning Committee was inaugurated by Netaji and presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru. The following members of the National Planning Committee were present: Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. M. Visveswaraya, Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Ambalal Sarabhai, A.D. Shroff, K.T. Shah (Secretary of the Committee), Dr. V.S. Dubey and V.V. Giri. The then Secretary

of the All India Congress Committee, Acharya J.B. Kirpalani was present as a Special Invitee along with M.L. Patil (Local Self Government Minister, Bombay Province), C.J. Bharuka (Industry Minister, Madhya Bharat), M.K. Pagar (Industry Minister, Baroda), M.S. Sriramachandra Rao (Industry Minister, Mysore), Vallabhbhai Patel, Bulabhai Desai, Jamnalal Bajaj, P.P. Advani and Prof. C.N. Vakil.

## A Tribute

In this volume we have tried to put together a compendium of the thoughts of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on National Planning as enunciated through his speeches, interviews and writings, including letters. Way back in 1921 after he decided that a career in the Indian Civil Service was not what he was made out for, from Cambridge University in England, he wrote two letters to Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. These two letters perhaps contained his very first thoughts on the concept of National Planning. He laid bare his thoughts in his presidential address to the Congress Session in Haripura in February 1938. Later during that year in his various addresses, interviews and letters he elaborated on the concept. In his writing, "India and her problems" published in a German Magazine in August 1942 and in his speech "The fundamental problems of India" delivered to the students of the Tokyo University in Japan in November 1944, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had thrown light on his blueprint for Free India. These are also reproduced in this volume.

## Acknowledgement

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and Shri Samar Guha, ex. M.P., for the help and guidance given to us in researching this volume. We are also grateful to the Oxford University Press, publishers of Collective Volumes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's Works.

# PART I

The Genesis — Documents relating to formation of National Planning Committee in 1938

# The Haripura Address

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's
Presidential Address at the
51st Session of the
Indian National Congress
held at Haripura
in February, 1938

Mr. Chairman and Friends,

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me by electing me as the President of the Indian National Congress for the coming year. I am not so presumptuous as to think for one moment that I am in any way worthy of that great honour. I regard it as a mark of your generosity and as a tribute to the youths of our country, but for whose cumulative contribution to our national struggle, we would not be where we are today. It is with a sense of fear and trepidation that I mount the tribune which has hitherto been graced by the most illustrious sons and daughters of our motherland. Conscious as I am of my numerous limitations, I can only hope and pray that with your sympathy and support I may be able in some small measure to do justice to the high office which you have called upon me to fill.

At the outset, may I voice your feelings in placing on record our profound grief at the death of Shrimati Swaruprani Nehru, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose and Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji? Shrimati Swaruprani Nehru was to us not merely the worthy consort of Pandit Motilal Nehru and the revered mother of Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru. Her suffering, sacrifice and service in the cause of India's freedom were such as any individual could feel proud of. As compatriots we mourn her death and our hearts go out in sympathy to Pandit Nehru and other members of the bereaved family.

To Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose India will always remain beholden for being the first to secure for her an honoured place in the modern scientific world. A nationalist to the core of his heart, Acharya Jagadish gave his life not merely to science, but to India as well. India knows it and is grateful for it. We convey our heartfelt sympathy to Lady Bose.

Through the untimely death of Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji, India has lost one of the brightest stars in her literary firmament. His name, for years a household word in Bengal, was not less known in the literary world of India. But if Sarat Babu was great as a litterateur, he was perhaps greater as a patriot. The Congress in Bengal is distinctly poorer today because of his death. We send our sincerest condolence to the members of his family.

Before I proceed further I should like to bow my head in homage to the memory of those who have laid down their lives in the service of the country since the Congress met last year at Faizpur. I should mention especially those who died in prison or in internment or soon after release from internment. I should refer in particular to Sjt Harendra Munshi, a political prisoner in the Dacca Central Jail, who laid down his life the other day as a result of hunger-strike. My feelings are still too lacerated to permit me to say

much on this subject. I shall only ask you if there is not 'something rotten in the state of Denmark' that such bright and promising souls as Jatin Das, Sardar Mahabir Singh, Ramkrishna Namadas, Mohit Mohan Maitra, Harendra Munshi and others should feel the urge not to live life but to end it.

When we take a bird's eye view of the entire panorama of human history, the first thing that strikes us is the rise and fall of empires. In the East as well as in the West, empires have invariably gone through a process of expansion and after reaching the zenith of prosperity, have gradually shrunk into insignificance and sometimes death. The Roman empire of the ancient times and the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires of the modern period are striking examples of this law. The empires in India — the Maurya, the Gupta and the Moghul empires — are no exceptions to this rule. In the face of these objective facts of history, can anyone be so bold as to maintain that there is in store a different fate for the British empire? That empire stands today at one of the crossroads of history. It will either go the way of other empires or it must transform itself into a federation of free nations. Either course is open to it. The Czarist empire collapsed in 1917 but of its debris sprang the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There is still time for Great Britain to take a leaf out of Russian history. Will she do it?

The British empire is a hybrid phenomenon in politics. It is a peculiar combination of self-governing countries, partially self-governing dependencies and autocratically-governed colonies. Constitutional de-

vice and human ingenuity may bolster up this combination for a while, but not for ever. If the internal incongruities are not removed in good time, then quite apart from external pressure, the empire is sure to break down under its own strain. But can the British empire transform itself into a federation of free nations with one bold sweep? It is for the British people to answer this question. One thing, however, is certain. This transformation will be possible only if the British people become free in their own homes — only if Great Britain becomes a socialist state. There is an inseparable connection between the capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and the colonies abroad. As Lenin pointed out long ago, 'reaction in Great Britain is strengthened and fed by the enslavement of a number of nations'. The British aristocracy and bourgeoisie exist primarily because there are colonies and overseas dependencies to exploit. The emancipation of the latter will undoubtedly strike at the very existence of the capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and precipitate the establishment of a socialist regime in that country. It should, therefore, be clear that a socialist order in Great Britain is impossible of achievement without the liquidation of colonialism and that we who are fighting for the political freedom of India and other enslaved countries of the British empire are incidentally fighting for the economic emancipation of the British people as well.

It is well-known truism that every empire is based on the policy of divide and rule. But I doubt if any empire in the world has practised this policy so skilfully, systematically and ruthlessly as Great Britain.

In accordance with the policy, before power was handed over to the Irish people, Ulster was separated from the rest of Ireland. Similarly, before any power is handed over to the Palestinians, the Jews will be separated from the Arabs. An internal partition is necessary in order to neutralise the transference of power. The same principle of partition appears in a different form in the new Indian Constitution. Here we find an attempt to separate the different communities and put them into water-tight compartments. And in the Federal Scheme there is juxtaposition of autocratic princes and democratically elected representatives from British India. If the new Constitution is finally rejected, whether owing to the opposition of British India or owing to the refusal of the princes to joining it, I have no doubt that British ingenuity will seek some other constitutional device for partitioning India and thereby neutralising the transference of power to the Indian people. Therefore, any Constitution for India which emanates from Whitehall must be examined with the utmost care and caution.

The policy of divide and rule, though it has its obvious advantages, is by no means an unmixed blessing for the ruling power. As a matter of fact, it creates new problems and new embarrassments. Great Britain seems to be caught in the meshes of her own political dualism resulting from her policy of divide and rule. Will she please the Muslim or the Hindu in India? Will she favour the Arab or the Jew in Palestine — the Arab or the Kurd in Iraq? Will she side with the King or the Wafd in Egypt? The same dualism is visible outside the empire. In the case of Spain, British politicians are torn between such

alternatives as Franco and the lawful government — and in the wider field of European politics, between France and Germany. The contradictions and inconsistencies in British foreign policy are the direct outcome of the heterogeneous composition of her empire. The British Cabinet has to please the Jews because she cannot ignore Jewish high finance. On the other hand, the India Office and Foreign Office have to placate the Arabs because of imperial interests in the Near East and India. The only means whereby Great Britain can free herself from such contradictions and inconsistencies is by transforming the empire into a federation of free nations. If she could do that, she would be performing a miracle in history. But if she fails, she must reconcile herself to the gradual dismemberment of a vast empire where the sun is supposed not to set. Let the lesson of the Austro-Hungarian empire be not lost on the British people.

The British empire at the present moment is suffering from strain at a number of points. Within the empire, in the extreme West, there is Ireland and in the extreme East, India. In the middle lies Palestine with the adjoining countries of Egypt and Iraq. Outside the empire, there is the pressure exerted by Italy in the Mediterranean and Japan in the Far East, both of these countries being militant, aggressive and imperialist. Against this background of unrest stands Soviet Russia, whose very existence strikes terror into the heart of the ruling classes in every imperialist state. How long can the British empire withstand the cumulative effect of this pressure strain?

Today, Britain can hardly call herself 'the Mistress

of the Seas'. Her phenomenal rise in the 18th and 19th centuries was the result of her sea power. Here decline as an empire in the 20th century will be the outcome of the emergence of a new factor in world history — Air Force. It was due to this new factor, Air Force, that an impudent Italy could successfully challenge a fully mobilised British Navy in the Mediterranean. Britain can rearm on land, sea and air up to the utmost limit. Battleships may still stand up to bombing from the air, but air force as a powerful element in modern warfare has come to stay. Distances have been obliterated and despite all anti-aircraft defences, London lies at the mercy of any bombing squadron from a continental centre. In short, air force has revolutionised modern warfare, destroyed the insularity of Great Britain and rudely disturbed the balance of power in world politics. The clay feet of a gigantic empire now stand exposed as these have never been before.

Amid this interplay of world forces India emerges much stronger than she has ever been before. Ours is a vast country with a population of 350 millions. Our vastness in area and in population has hitherto been a source of weakness. It is today a source of strength if we can only stand united and boldly face our rulers. From the standpoint of Indian unity the first thing to remember is that the division between British India and the Indian states is an entirely artificial one. India is one and the hopes and aspirations of the people of British India and of the Indian states are identical. Our goal is that of an Independent India and in my view that goal can be attained only through a federal republic in which the

provinces and the states will be willing partners. The Congress has, time and again, offered its sympathy and moral support to the movement carried on by the states' subjects for the establishment of democratic government in what is known as Indian India. It may be that at this moment our hands are so full that the Congress is not in a position to do more for our compatriots in the states. But even today there is nothing to prevent individual Congressmen from actively espousing the cause of the states' subjects and participating in their struggle. There are people in the Congress like myself who would like to see the Congress participating more actively in the movement of the states' subjects. I personally hope that in the near future it will be possible for the Indian National Congress to take a forward step and offer a helping hand to our fellow-fighters in the states. Let us not forget that they need our sympathy and our help.

Talking of Indian unity the next thing that strikes us is the problem of the minorities. The Congress has, from time to time, declared its policy on this question. The latest authoritative pronouncement made by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting in Calcutta in October, 1937, runs thus :

> The Congress has solemnly and repeatedly declared its policy in regard to the rights of the minorities in India and has stated that it considers it its duty to protect these rights and ensure the widest possible scope for the development of these minorities and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and

cultural life of the nation. The objective of the Congress is an independent and united India where no class or group or majority or minority may exploit another to its own advantage, and where all the elements in the nation may co-operate together for the common good and the advancement of the people of India. The objective of unity and mutual co-operation in a common freedom does not mean the suppression in any way of the rich variety and cultural diversity of Indian life, which have to be preserved in order to give freedom and opportunity to the individual as well as to each group to develop unhindered according to its capacity and inclination.

In view, however, of attempts having been made to misinterpret the Congress policy in this regard, the All-India Congress Committee desire to reiterate this policy. The Congress has included in its resolution on Fundamental Rights that :

(i) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality.

(ii) Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to the public order and morality;

(iii) The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected;

(iv) All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex;

(v) No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office or power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling;

(vi) All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort, maintained out of state, or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

(vii) The state shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions;

(viii) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage;

(ix) Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

These clauses of the fundamental Rights resolution make it clear that there should be no interference in matter of conscience, religion, or culture, and a minority is entitled to keep its personal law without any change in this respect being imposed by the majority.

The position of the Congress in regard to the communal decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the

Election Manifesto issued last year. The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity. Nevertheless, the Congress has declared that a change in or suppression of the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring such a change by mutual agreement.

In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of a common aim which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India.

The time is opportune for renewing our efforts for the final solution of this problem. I believe I am voicing the feelings of all Congressmen when I say that we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution, consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism. It is not necessary for me to go into details as to the lines on which a solution should take place. Much useful ground has already been covered in past conferences and conversations. I shall merely add that only by emphasising our common interests, economic and political, can we cut across communal divisions and dissensions. A policy of live and let live in matters religious and an understanding in matters economic and political should be our objective. Though the Muslim problem looms large whenever we think of the question of the

minorities and though we are anxious to settle this problem finally, I must say that the Congress is equally desirous of doing justice to other minorities and especially the so-called depressed classed whose number is a very large one. I would put it to the members of the minority communities in India to consider dispassionately if they have anything to fear when the Congress programme is put into operation. The Congress stands for the political and economic rights of the Indian people as a whole. If it succeeds in executing its programme, the minority communities would be benefitted as much as any other section of the Indian population. Moreover, if after the capture of political power, national reconstruction takes place on socialistic lines — as I have no doubt it will — it is the 'have nots' who will benefit at the expense of the 'haves' and the Indian masses have to be classified among the 'have-nots'. There remains but one question which may be a source of anxiety to the minorities, viz., religion and that aspect of culture that is based on religion. On this question the Congress policy is one of live and let live — a policy of complete non-interference in matters of conscience, religion and culture as well as of cultural autonomy for the different linguistic areas. The Muslims have, therefore, nothing to fear in the event of India winning her freedom — on the contrary, they have everything to gain. So far as the religious and social disabilities of the so-called depressed classes are concerned, it is well-known that during the last seventeen years the Congress has left no stone unturned in the effort to remove them, and I have no doubt that the day is not far off when such disabilities will be things of the past.

I shall now proceed to consider the method which the Congress should pursue in the years to come as well as its role in the national struggle. I believe more than ever that the method should be Satyagraha or non-violent non-cooperation in the widest sense of the term, including civil disobedience. It would not be correct to call our method passive resistance. Satyagraha, as I understand it, is not merely passive resistance but active resistance as well though that activity must be of a non-violent character. It is necessary to remind our countrymen that Satyagraha or non-violent non-co-operation may have to be resorted to again. The acceptance of office in the provinces as an experimental measures should not lead us to think that our future activity is to be confined within the limits of strict constitutionalism. There is every possibility that a determined opposition to the forcible inauguration of Federation may land us in another big campaign of civil disobedience.

In our struggle for independence we may adopt either of two alternatives. We may continue our fight until we have our full freedom and in the meantime decline to use any power that we may capture while on the march. We may, on the other hand, go on consolidating our position while we continue our struggle for Purna Swaraj or complete independence. From the point of view of principle, both the alternatives are equally acceptable and *a priori* considerations need not worry us. But we should consider very carefully at every stage as to which alternative would be more conducive to our national advancement. In either case, the ultimate stage in our progress will be the severance of the British connec-

tion. When that severance takes place and there is no trace left of British domination, we shall be in a position to determine our future relations with Great Britain through a treaty of alliance voluntarily entered into by both parties. What our future relations with Great Britain will or should be, it is too early to say. That will depend to a large extent on the attitude of the British people themselves. On this point I have been greatly impressed by the attitude of President de Valera. Like the President of Eire, I should also say that we have no enmity towards the British people. We are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her. But once we have real self-determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people.

I am afraid there is a lack of clarity in the minds of many Congressmen as to the role of the Congress in the history of our national struggle. I know that there are friends who think that after freedom is won, the Congress Party having achieved its objective, should wither away. Such a conception is entirely erroneous. The party that wins freedom for India should be also the party that will put into effect the entire programme of post-war reconstruction. Only those who have won power can handle it properly. If other people are pitchforked into seats of power which they were not responsible for capturing, they will lack that strength, confidence and idealism which is indispensable for revolutionary reconstruction. It is this which accounts for the difference in the Congress and non-Congress ministries in the very narrow sphere of Provincial Autonomy.

No, there can be no question of the Congress Party withering away after political freedom has been won. On the contrary, the Party will have to take over power, assume responsibility for administration and put through its programme of reconstruction. Only then will it fulfil its role. If it were forcibly to liquidate itself, chaos would follow. Looking at post-war Europe we find that only in those countries has there been orderly and continuous progress where the party which seized power undertook the work of reconstruction.

I know that it will be argued that the continuance of a party in such circumstances, standing behind the state, will convert that state into a totalitarian one; but I cannot admit the charge. The state will possibly become a totalitarian one, if there be only one party as in countries like Russia, Germany and Italy. But there is no reason why other parties should be banned. Moreover, the party itself will have a democratic basis, unlike, for instance, the Nazi Party which is based on the 'leader principle'. The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the Congress Party will prevent the future Indian state becoming a totalitarian one. Further, the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above, but are elected from below.

Though it may be somewhat premature to give a detailed plan of reconstruction, we might as well consider some of the principles according to which our future social reconstruction should take place. I have no doubt in my mind that our chief national problems relating to the eradication of poverty,

illiteracy and disease and to scientific production and distribution can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines. The very first thing which our future national government will have to do, would be to set up a commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan of reconstruction. This plan will have two parts — an immediate programme and a long-period programme. In drawing up the first part, the immediate objectives which will have to be kept in view will be three-fold — first, to prepare the country for self-sacrifice; secondly, to unify India; and thirdly, to give scope for local and cultural autonomy. The second and third objectives may appear to be contradictory, but they are not really so. Whatever political talent or genius we may possess as a people, will have to be used in reconciling these two objectives. We shall have to unify the country so that we may be able to hold India against any foreign invasion. While unifying the country through a strong central government, we shall have to put all the minority communities as well as the provinces at their ease, by allowing them a large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as governmental affairs. Special efforts will be needed to keep our people together when the load of foreign domination is removed, because alien rule has demoralised and disorganised us to a degree. To promote national unity we shall have to develop our lingua franca and a common script. Further, with the help of such modern scientific contrivances as aeroplanes, telephone, radio, films, television, etc., we shall have to bring the different parts of India closer to one another and through a common educational policy we shall

have to foster a common spirit among the entire population. So far as our lingua franca is concerned, I am inclined to think that the distinction between Hindi and Urdu is a artificial one. The most natural lingua franca would be mixture of the two, such as is spoken in daily life in large portions of the country and this common language may be written in either of the two scripts, Nagari or Urdu. I am aware that there are people in India who strongly favour either of the two scripts to the exclusion of the other. Our policy, however, should not be one of exclusion. We should allow the fullest latitude to use either script. At the same time, I am inclined to think that the ultimate solution, and the best solution would be the adoption of a script that would bring us into line with the rest of the world. Perhaps, some of our countrymen will gape with horror when they hear of the adoption of the Roman script, but I would beg them to consider this problem from the scientific and historical point of view. If we do that, we shall realise at once that there is nothing sacrosanct in a script. The Nagari script, as we know it today, has passed through several phases of evolution. Besides, most of the major provinces of India have their own script and there is the Urdu script which is used largely by the Urdu-speaking public in India and by both Muslims and Hindus in provinces like the Punjab and Sind. In view of such diversity, the choice of a uniform script for the whole of India should be made in a thoroughly scientific and impartial script, free from bias of every kind. I confess that there was a time when I felt that it would be anti-national to adopt a foreign script. But my visit to Turkey in 1934 was responsible for

converting me. I then realised for the first time what a great advantage it was to have the same script as the rest of the world. So far as our masses are concerned, since more than 90 per cent are illiterate and are not familiar with any script, it will not matter to them which script we introduce when they are educated. The Roman script will, moreover, facilitate their learning a European language. I am quite aware how unpopular the immediate adoption of the Roman script would be in our country. Nevertheless, I would beg my countrymen to consider what would be the wisest solution in the long run.

With regard to the long-period programme for a Free India, the first problem to tackle is that of our increasing population. I do not desire to go into the theoretical question as to whether India is over-populated or not. I simply want to point out that where poverty, starvation and disease are stalking the land, we cannot afford to have our population mounting up by thirty million during a single decade. If the population goes up by the leaps and bounds, as it has done in the recent past, our plans are likely to fall through. It will, therefore, be desirable to restrict our population until we are able to feed, clothe and educate those who already exist. It is not necessary at this stage to prescribe the methods that should be adopted to prevent a further increase in population, but I would urge that public attention be drawn to this question.

Regarding reconstruction, our principal problem will be how to eradicate poverty from our country. That will require a radical reform of our land system,

including the abolition of landlordism. Agricultural indebtedness will have to be liquidated and provision made for cheap credit for the rural population. An extension of the co-operative movement will be necessary for the benefit of both producers and consumers. Agriculture will have to be put on a scientific basis with a view to increasing the yield from the land.

To solve the economic problem agricultural improvement will not be enough. A comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state-ownerships and state-control will be indispensable. A new industrial system will have to be built up in a place of the old one which has collapsed as a result of mass production abroad and alien rule at home. The planning commission will have to carefully consider and decide which of the home industries could be revived despite the competition of modern factories and in which sphere large scale production should be encouraged. However much we may dislike modern industrialism and condemn the evils which follow in its train, we cannot go back to the pre-industrial era, even if we desire to do so. It is well, therefore, that we should reconcile ourselves to industrialisation and devise means to minimise its evils and at the same time explore the possibilities of reviving cottage industries where there is a possibility of their surviving the inevitable competition of factories. In a country like India, there will be plenty of room for cottage industries, especially in the case of industries including hand-spinning and hand-weaving allied to agriculture.

Last but not the least, the state on the advise of

a planning commission, will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socialising our entire agricultural and industrial system in the sphere of both production and appropriation. Extra capital will have to be procured for this, whether through internal or external loans or through inflation.

Opposing or resisting the provincial part of the Constitution will be hardly possible now, since the Congress Party has accepted office in seven out of eleven provinces. All that could be done would be to strengthen and consolidate the Congress as a result of it. I am one of those who were not in favour of taking office — not because there was something inherently wrong in doing so, not because no good could come out of that policy, but because it was apprehended that the evil effects of office acceptance would out-weigh the good. Today I can only hope that my forebodings were unfounded.

How can we strengthen and consolidate the Congress while our ministers are in office ? The first thing to do is to change the composition and character of the bureaucracy. If this is not done, the Congress Party may come to grief. In every country, the ministers come and go, but the steel frame of the permanent services remains. If that is not altered in composition and character, the governmental party and its cabinet are likely to prove ineffective in putting their principles into practice. This is what happened in the case of the Social Democratic Party in post-war Germany and perhaps in the case of the Labour Party in Great Britain in 1924 and 1929. It is the permanent services who really rule in every

country. In India they have been created by the British and in the higher ranks they are largely British in composition. Their outlook and mentality are in most cases neither Indian nor national and a national policy cannot be executed until the permanent services become national in outlook and mentality. The difficulty, of course, will be that the higher ranks of the permanent services being, under the Statute, directly under the Secretary of State for India and not under the Provincial Government, it will not be easy to alter their composition.

Secondly, the Congress ministers in the different provinces should, while they are in office, introduce schemes of reconstruction in the spheres of education, health, prohibition, prison reforms, irrigation, industry, land reform, workers' welfare etc. In this matter, attempts should be made to have as far as possible, a uniform policy for the whole of India. This uniformity could be brought about in either of two ways. The Congress ministers in the different provinces could themselves come together — as the Labour Ministers did in October, 1937, in Calcutta — and draw up a uniform programme. Over and above this, the Congress Working Committee, which is the supreme executive of the Congress could lend a helping hand by giving directions to the different departments of the Congress-controlled provincial governments in the light of such advice as it may get from its own experts. This will mean that the members of the Congress Working Committee should be conversant with the problems that come within the purview of the Congress governments in the provinces. It is not intended that they should go into the

details of administration. All that is needed is that they should have a general understanding of the different problems so that they could lay down the broad lines of policy. In this respect, the Congress Working Committee could do much more than it has hitherto done and unless it does so, I do not see how that body can keep an effective control over the different Congress ministries.

At this stage I should like to say something more about the role of the Congress Working Committee. This Committee, in my judgement, is not merely the directing brain of the national army of fighters for freedom. It is also the Shadow Cabinet of Independent India and it should function accordingly. This is not an invention of my own. It is the role which has been assigned to similar bodies in other countries that have fought for their national emancipation. I am one of those who think in terms of a Free India — who visualise a national government in this country within the brief span of our own life. It is consequently natural for us to urge that the Working Committee should feel and function as the Shadow Cabinet of a Free India. This is what President de Valera's Republican Government did when it was fighting the British Government and was on the run. And this is what the Executive of the Wafd Party in Egypt did before it got into office. The members of the Working Committee while carrying on their day to day work should accordingly study the problems they will have to tackle in the event of their capturing political power.

More important than the question of the proper

working of the Congress Governments is the immediate problem of how to oppose the inauguration of the federal part of the Constitution. The Congress attitude towards the proposed Federal Scheme has been clearly started in the resolution adopted by the Working Committee at Wardha on February 4, 1938, which will be placed before this Congress after the Subjects Committee has considered it. That resolution says:

> The Congress has rejected the new Constitution and declared that a Constitution for India which can be accepted by the people must be based on Independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of a Constituent Assembly without the interference by any foreign authority. Adhering to this policy of rejection, the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthening the nation in its struggle for Independence. In regard to the proposed Federation, no such consideration applies even provisionally, or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation, will do grave injuries to India and righten the bonds which hold her under the subjection of an imperialist domination. This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility the vital function of a government.
>
> The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation but a real Federation must, even apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units, enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty and representation by a democratic process of election. Indian states participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions, responsible government, civil liberties and the method of election to the Federal House. Otherwise

> Federation as it is now contemplated will, instead of building Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the states in internal and external conflict.
>
> The Congress, therefore, reiterates its condemnation of the proposed scheme and calls upon Provincial and Local Congress Committees and the people generally as well as Provincial Governments and Ministries to prevent its inauguration.
>
> In the event of an attempt being made to impose it, despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way and the Provincial Government and Ministries must refuse to co-operate with it.
>
> In case such a contingency arises, the A.I.C.C. is authorised and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard.

I should like to add some more arguments to explain our attitude of uncompromising hostility towards the proposed Federation. One of the most objectionable features of the Federal Scheme relates to the commercial and financial safeguards in the new Constitution. Not only will the people continue to be deprived of any power over defence or foreign policy, but the major portion of the expenditure will also be entirely out of popular control. According to the budget of the Central Government for the year 1937-38, the army expenditure comes to 44.61 crores of rupees (£ 33.46 million) out of a total expenditure of 77.90 crores of rupees (£ 58.42 million) — that is, roughly 57 per cent of the total expenditure of the Central Government. It appears that the reserved side of Federal Government which will be controlled by the Governor-General will handle about 80 per cent

of the Federal expenditure. Moreover, bodies like the Reserve Bank and the Federal Railways Authority are already created or will be created which will work as *imperium in imperio* uncontrolled by a Federal Legislature. The Legislature will be deprived of the powers it possesses at present to direct and influence railway policy, and it will not have any voice in determining the currency and exchange policy of the country which has a vital bearing on its economic development.

The fact that external affairs will be a reserved subject under the Federal Government will prejudicially affect the freedom of the Indian Legislature to conclude trade agreements and will seriously restrict, in effect, fiscal autonomy. The Federal Government will not be under any constitutional obligation to place such trade agreements before the Legislature for their ratification, even as they decline at present to give an undertaking to place the Indo-British Trade Agreement before the Indian Legislature Assembly. The so-called fiscal autonomy convention will have no meaning unless it is stipulated that no trade agreement on behalf of India shall be signed by any party without its ratification by the Indian Legislature. In this connection, I would like to state that I am definitely of opinion that India should enter into bilateral trade agreements with countries like Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the United States of America with whom she had close trade relations in the past. But under the new Constitution, it will not be within the power of the Federal Legislature to force the Federal Government to enter into such bilateral trade agreements.

The iniquitous and inequitable commercial safeguards embodied in the Act will make it impossible for any effective measure to be adopted in order to protect and promote Indian national industries especially where they might, as they often do, conflict with British commercial or industrial interests. In addition to the Governor-General's special responsibility to see that provisions with regard to discrimination, as laid down in the Act, are duly carried out, it is also his duty to prevent any action which would subject British goods imported into India to any kind of discriminatory or penal treatment. A careful study of these stringent and wide provisions will show that India can adopt no measures against British competition which the Governor-General cannot, in effect, stultify or veto, whether in the legislative or in the administrative sphere. It is, of course, preposterous to permit foreigners in this country to compete with the nationals on equal terms and there can be no genuine Swaraj if India is to be denied the power to devise and adopt a national economic policy including the right, if her interests so require, of differentiating between nationals and non-nationals. In a famous article in *Young India,* under the caption 'The Giant and the Dwarf' written soon after the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi declared plainly that 'to talk of no discrimination between Indian interests and English or European, is to perpetuate Indian heritage. What is equality of rights between a giant and a dwarf ?' Even the meagre powers enjoyed by the Central Legislature at present to enact a measure like the reservation of the Indian coastal trade for Indian-owned and Indian-managed

vessels has been taken away under the so-called reformed Constitution. Shipping is a vital industry which is essential for defensive as well as for economic purpose, but all the accepted and legitimate methods of developing this key industry including those adopted even by several British Dominions are henceforth rendered impossible for India. To justify such limitations on our sovereignty on the ground of 'reciprocity' and 'partnership' is literally to add insult to injury. The right of the future Indian Parliament to differentiate or discriminate between nationals and non-nationals, whenever Indian interests require it, should remain intact and this right we cannot sacrifice on any account. I would like in this connection to cite the Irish parallel. The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1935 provides for a distinct Irish citizenship in connection with the electoral system, entry into public life, merchant shipping law, aircraft, as also in connection with special privileges which it thought proper to reserve for Irish nationals, such as those conferred through measures for assisting Irish industry. Irish citizenship, in other words, is distinct from British, which cannot claim equal rights in the State of Eire (or Ireland) on the basis of British citizenship, which is not recognised there. I feel that India must similarly seek to develop her own distinct nationality and establish a citizenship of her own.

While on the question of fiscal autonomy and commercial safeguards, I might refer briefly to the need of an active foreign trade policy for India. India's foreign trade should be viewed not in a haphazard or piecemeal manner as is often done in order to

provide some immediate or temporary benefit to British industry, but in a comprehensive manner so as to co-ordinate India's economic development with its export trade on the one hand and its external obligation on the other. The very nature of India's export trade makes it essential that it should not have any restrictive agreement with England such as would jeopardise its trade with the various non-empire countries which have been in several respects its best customers, or such as would tend to weaken India's bargaining power *vis-a-vis* other countries. It is unfortunate that the protected negotiations for an Indo-British Trade Agreement are still proceeding, while the Ottawa Agreement, even after the expiry of its notice-period and despite the decision of the Legislative Assembly to terminate it, still continues, and along with the differential duties on British steel and textiles, the said Ottawa Agreement secures the prevailing advantages for British industries. There is no doubt that under the existing political conditions, any trade agreement between England and India is bound to be of an unequal character because our present political relationship would weigh the scales heavily in favour of England. There is also no doubt that the British preferential system is political in origin and before we permit non-Indian vested interests to be established or consolidated in this country under the shelter of a trade agreement, we should be careful as to its political repercussions and economic consequences. I trust that the present Indo-British Trade negotiations will not be allowed to impede the conclusion of bilateral trade agreements with other countries whenever possible and that no such trade

agreement will be signed by the Government of India unless it is ratified by the Indian Legislature.

From the above, it will be quite clear that there is no analogy between the powers of the Provincial Ministries and those of the proposed Federal Ministry. Moreover, the composition of the Federal Legislature is reactionary to a degree. The total population of the Indian states is roughly 24 per cent of that of the whole of India. Nevertheless, the Rulers of the States, not their subjects, have been given 33 per cent of the seats in the Lower House and 40 per cent in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature. In these circumstances, there is no possibility, in my opinion, of the Congress altering its attitude towards the Federal Scheme at any time. On our success in resisting the imposition of Federation by the British Government will depend our immediate political future. We have to fight Federation by all legitimate and peaceful means — not merely along constitutional lines — and in the last resort, we may have to resort to mass civil disobedience which is the ultimate sanction we have in our hands. There can be little doubt that in the event of such a campaign being started in the future, the movement will not be confined to British India but will spread among the states' subjects.

To put up an effective fight in the near future, it is necessary to put our own house in order. The awakening among our masses during the last few years has been so tremendous that new problems have arisen concerning our party organisation. Meetings attended by fifty thousand men and women

are a usual occurrence nowadays. It is sometimes found that to control such meetings and demonstrations, our machinery is not adequate. Apart from these passing demonstrations, there is the bigger problem of mobilising this phenomenal mass energy and enthusiasm and directing them along proper lines. But have we got a well-disciplined Volunteer Corps for this purpose? Have we got a cadre of officers for our national service? Do we provide any training for our budding leaders, for our promising young workers? The answers to these questions are too patent to need elaboration. We have not yet provided all these requirements of a modern political party, but it is high time that we did. A disciplined Volunteer Corps manned by trained officers is exceedingly necessary. Moreover, education and training should be provided for our political workers so that we may produce a better type of leaders in future. This sort of training is provided by political parties in Britain through Summer Schools and other institutions — and is a speciality in totalitarian states. With all respect to our workers who have played a glorious part in our struggle, I must confess that there is room for more talent in our party. This defect can be made up partly by recruiting promising young men for the Congress and partly by providing education and training for those whom we already have. Everybody must have observed how some European countries have been dealing with this problem. Though our ideals and methods of training are quite different from theirs, it will be admitted on all hands that a thorough scientific training is a requisite for our workers. Further, an institution like the Labour

Service Corps of the Nazis deserves careful study and with suitable modification may prove beneficial to India.

While dealing with the question of enforcing discipline within our own party, we have to consider a problem which has been causing worry and embarrassment to many of us. I am referring to organisations like the Trade Union Congress and the Kisan Sabhas and their relations with the Indian National Congress. There are two opposing schools of thought on this question — those who condemn any organisations that are outside the Congress and those who advocate them. My own view is that we cannot abolish such organisations by ignoring or condemning them. They exist as objective facts and since they have come into existence and show no sings of liquidating themselves, it should be manifest that there is a historical necessity behind them. Moreover, such organisations are to be found in other countries. I am afraid that whether we like it or not, we have to reconcile ourselves to their existence. The only question is how the Congress should treat them. Obviously, such organisations should not appear as a challenge to the National Congress which is the organ of mass struggle for capturing political power. They should, therefore, be inspired by Congress ideals and methods and work in close co-operation with the Congress. To ensure this, Congress workers should in large numbers participate in trade union and peasant organisations. From my own experience of trade union work I feel that this could easily be done without landing oneself in conflict or inconsistency. Co-operation between the Congress and the

other two organisations could be facilitated if the latter deal primarily with the economic grievances of the workers and peasants and treat the Congress as a common platform for all those who strive for the political emancipation of their country.

This brings us to the vexed problem of the collective affiliation of workers' and peasant' organisations of the Congress. Personally, I hold the view that the day will come when we shall have to grant this affiliation in order to bring all progressive and anti-imperialist organisations under the influence and control of the Congress. There will, of course, be difference of opinion as to the manner and the extent to which this affiliation should be given and the character and stability of such organisations will have to be examined before affiliation could be agreed to. In Russia, the united front of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers played a dominant part in the October Revolution — but, on the contrary, in Great Britain we find that the British Trade Union Congress exerts a moderating influence on the National Executive of the Labour Party. In India, we shall have to consider carefully what sort of influence organisations like the Trade Union Congress and the Kisan Sabhas will exert on the Indian National Congress in the event of affiliation being granted and we should not forget that there is the possibility that the former may not have a radical outlook if their immediate economic grievances are not involved. In any case, quite apart from the question of collective affiliation, there should be the closest co-operation between the National Congress and other anti-imperialist organisations and this object would be facilitated by

the latter adopting the principles and methods of the former.

There has been a great deal of controversy over the question of forming a party, like the Congress Socialist Party, within the Congress. I hold no brief for the Congress Socialist Party and I am not a member of it. Nevertheless, I must say that I have been in agreement with its general principles and policy from the very beginning. In the first place, it is desirable for the leftist elements to be consolidated into one party. Secondly, a leftist bloc can have a *raison d'etre* only if it is socialist in character. There are friends who object to such a bloc being called a party, but to my mind it is quite immaterial whether you call that bloc a group, league or party. Within the limits prescribed by the Constitution of the Indian National Congress, it is quite possible for a leftist bloc to have a socialist programme, in which case it can be very well called a group, league or party. But the role of the Congress Socialist Party, or any other party of the same sort, should be that of a left-wing group. Socialism is not an immediate problem for us — nevertheless, socialist propaganda is necessary to prepare the country for socialism when political freedom has been won. And that propaganda can be conducted only by a party like the Congress Socialist Party, which stands for and believes in socialism.

There is one problem in which I have been taking a deep personal interest for some years and in connection with which I should like to make my submission — I mean the question of a foreign policy for India and of developing international contacts. I

attach great importance to this work because I believe that in the years to come, international development will favour our struggle in India. But we must have a correct appreciation of the world situation at every stage and should know how to take advantage of it. The lesson of Egypt stands before us as an example. Egypt won her Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain without firing a shot, simply because she knew how to take advantage of the Anglo-Indian tension in the Mediterranean.

In connection with our foreign policy, the first suggestion that I have to make is that we should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its state. We shall find in every country men and women who will sympathise with Indian freedom, no matter what their own political views may be. In this matter we should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a communist state, her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-socialist states and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter. We should, therefore, aim at developing a nucleus of men and women in every country who feel sympathetic towards India. To create and develop such a nucleus, propaganda through the foreign press, through Indian-made films and through art exhibitions would be helpful. The Chinese, for example, have made themselves exceedingly popular in Europe through their art exhibitions. Above all, personal contacts are necessary. Without such personal contacts it would be difficult to make India popular in other countries. Indian students abroad could also help in this work, provided we in India look

to their needs and requirements. There should be closer contact between Indian students abroad and the Indian National Congress at home. If we could send our cultural and educational films made in India, I am sure that India and her culture would become known and appreciated by people abroad. Such films would prove exceedingly useful to Indian students and Indian residents in other countries, who at present are like our non-official ambassadors.

I do not like the word propaganda — there is an air of falsity about it. But I insist that we should make India and her culture known to the world. I say this because I am aware that such efforts will be welcomed in every country in Europe and America. If we go ahead with this work, we shall be preparing the basis for our future embassies and legations in different lands. We should not neglect Great Britain either. We have even in that country a small but influential group of men and women who are genuinely sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. Among the rising generation and students, in particular, interests in and sympathy for India is rapidly on the increase. One has only to visit the universities of Great Britain to realise that.

To carry on this work effectively, the Indian National Congress should have its trusted agents in Europe, Asia, Africa and in North, Central and South America. It is a pity that we have so far neglected Central and South America where there is profound interest in India. The Congress should be assisted in this work of developing international contact by cultural organisations in India, working in the field of

international culture and by the Indian Chambers of Commerce working in the sphere of international commerce. Further, Indians should make it a point to attend every international congress or conference; participation in such conferences is a very useful and healthy form of propaganda for India.

While talking of international contacts, I should remove a misgiving which may be present in some minds. Developing international contacts does not mean intriguing against the British Government. We need not go in for such intrigues and all our methods should be aboveboard. The propaganda that goes on against India all over the world is to the effect that India is an uncivilised country and it is inferred therefrom that the British are needed in order to civilise us. As a reply, we have only to let the world know what we are and what our culture is like. If we can do that, we shall create such a volume of international sympathy in our favour that India's case will become irresistible before the bar of world opinion.

I should not forget to refer to the problems, the difficulties and the trials which face our countrymen in different parts of Asia and Africa — notably in Zanzibar, Kenya, South Africa, Malaya and Ceylon. The Congress has always taken the keenest interest in their affairs and will continue to do so in future. If we have not been able to do more for them it is only because we are still slaves at home. A free India will be a healthy and potent factor in world politics and will be able to look after the interests of its nationals abroad.

I must in this connection stress the desirability and necessity of developing closer cultural relations with our neighbours, viz., Persia, Afghanistan, Nepal, China, Burma, Siam, Malay States, East Indies and Ceylon. It would be good for both parties if they knew more of us and we knew more of them. With Burma and Ceylon, in particular, we should have the most intimate cultural intercourse, in view of our agelong contacts.

Friends, I am sorry I have taken more of your time than I had intended at first, but I am now nearing the end of my address. There is one important matter — the burning topic of the day — to which I should now draw your attention — the question of the release of detenues and political prisoners. The recent hunger strikes have brought this question to the forefront and have focussed public attention on it. I believe that I am voicing the feelings of at least the rank and file of the Congress when I say that everything humanly possible should be done to expedite release. So far as the Congress ministries are concerned, it would be well to note that the record of some of them has not come up to public expectation. The sooner they satisfy the public demand, the better it will be for the Congress and for the people who are suffering in provinces ruled by non-Congress ministries. It is not necessary for me to labour this point and I fervently hope that in the immediate future, the public will have nothing to complain of so far as the record of the Congress ministries on this point is concerned.

It is not only the detenues and political prisoners in jail and detention who have their tale of woe. The

lot of those who have been released is sometimes no better. They often return home in shattered health, victims of fell diseases like tuberculosis. Grim starvation stares them in the face and they are greeted, not with the smiles but with the tears of near and dear ones. Have we no duty to those who have given of their best in the service of their country and have received nothing but poverty and sorrow in return? Let us, therefore, send our heart-felt sympathy to all those who have suffered for the crime of loving their country and let us all contribute our humble mite towards the alleviation of their misery.

Friends, one word more and I have done. We are faced with a serious situation today. Inside the Congress there are differences between the right and the left which it would be futile to ignore. Outside, there is the challenge of British Imperialism which we are called upon to face. What shall we do in this crisis? Need I say that we have to stand foursquare against all the storms that may beset our path and be impervious to all the designs that our rulers may employ? The Congress today is the one supreme organ of mass struggle. It may have its right bloc and its left — but it is the common platform for all anti-imperialist organisations striving for Indian emancipation. Let us, therefore, rally the whole country under the banner of the Indian National Congress. I would appeal specially to the leftist groups in the country to pool all their strength and their resources for democratising the Congress and reorganising it on the broadest anti-imperialist basis. In making this appeal, I am greatly encouraged by the attitude of the leaders of the British Communist Party whose general policy

with regard to India seems to me to be in keeping with that of the Indian National Congress.

In conclusion, I shall voice your feelings by saying that all India fervently hopes and prays that Mahatma Gandhi may be spared to our nation for many many years to come. India cannot afford to lose him and certainly not at this hour. We need him to keep our people united. We need him to keep our struggle free from bitterness and hatred. We need him for the cause of Indian Independence. What is more — we need him for the cause of humanity. Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism but against world Imperialism as well, of which the former is the keystone. We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone but of humanity as well. India freed means humanity saved.

*Bande Mataram*

# Municipal Socialism

Address to the Bombay Corporation,
May 10, 1938

Mr Mayor, Members of the Corporation and Friends,

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great honour you have done me this afternoon. I am not so presumptuous as to think that I am in any way worthy of this great honour. On the contrary, I feel I am before you here this afternoon, in spite of my own shortcomings and limitations, as a symbol. I am here as a servant of the Indian National Congress and of the Indian public at large.

The very kind words which have fallen from your lips, Mr Mayor, are a token of your generosity and the largeness of your heart. I take it that this generosity and largeness of heart show your real feelings towards the movement for Indian emancipation and towards all those who stand for that movement. We are living today in the midst of momentous times. You have referred also to international affairs. The day is gone when India was a country isolated from the rest of the world. Today, thanks to scientific achievement and to our own development, intellectual and moral, the whole world is one entity. What happens in one remote corner of the present world has far-reaching repercussions all over the globe. What we

achieve in one city in India has, therefore, an importance not merely for that city, not merely for that country but, if I may say so, for the whole of humanity. This is true not only of political affairs but of civic affairs as well. I remember that during the few years that I had the occasion to spend in Europe, one of the most striking things which came to my notice was the achievement of the Socialist Municipality of Vienna. I believe nobody, no matter to what nationality he belonged, nobody who had occasion to see some of the achievements of that Municipality went back without a conviction that here was an achievement of much importance and significance to all those human beings who were interested in civic welfare. The Vienna Municipality, in the course of twelve years, provided housing accommodation for at least 2,00,000 persons and this arrangement for housing 2,00,000 persons was made without any additional taxation and without any loans. The entire charge was met from revenue and that revenue was collected by taxing amusements. We know that amusements are taxed in this country also but unfortunately the cities do not have the benefit of that taxation. What impressed me most, therefore, was the fact that so much could be achieved in one city without any additional taxation and without loans. That is why I was stressing the point that if you could achieve something in one city, that would have significance for the whole world.

It is exceedingly gratifying to note that in Bombay you have done away with limited fran-

chise, that you are going to have adult franchise and that you have done away with nominations. Once again I will say that this has significance not only for the city of Bombay but for the whole of India and probably for other countries circumstanced like India. I think we should offer our congratulations to the present Government of Bombay for this change. We all wish that other cities, particularly the premier cities in India, would take a leaf out of Bombay's history in this respect, introduce adult franchise and abolish the system of nominations.

Now, Sir, the city of Bombay has a splendid situation surrounded by the sea. It is situated in the midst of fine natural scenery and the streets and buildings of Bombay—at least the better and richer parts of Bombay—can compare favourably with any city in this world; but that is only one side of the picture. We cannot forget the poverty which we have in this city and the slums in which our poorer countrymen have to live. We have, therefore, to address ourselves to the task of looking after the poorer and less fortunate sections of our countrymen. One of the greatest sons of India, Deshbandhu C.R. Das, once said that the ideal of civic bodies should be to make them poor men's corporations and in his first speech as the Mayor of Calcutta he laid down a programme of service to the poor. That programme was in many ways an ideal programme and has afforded an inspiration to the corporation of Calcutta and indirectly to other civic bodies as well. I think we have yet to travel a long way before we can

honestly claim that our civic bodies are in reality poor men's corporations. There is a great deal of work to be done but what is needed most is inspiration, zeal and passion to serve the poor. It is that zeal, that passion which is the motive power that will enable us to travel along the path of service and to convert our cities into poor men's corporations. Sir, here in Bombay you have achieved much, specially, in the field of primary education. Your achievements in the sphere of education as also in other spheres have been of immense benefit to the citizens of Bombay and afforded an inspiration to others who have been entrusted with civic government elsewhere. I do hope that you will not rest content with what you have already done but that you will move with the times and travel fast in the direction of making your Municipal Corporation an ideal one.

Civic progress all over the world is moving in the direction of what may be called Municipal Socialism. 'Socialism' is a word which is sometimes a bogey to many, but I believe if we analyse and try to understand what socialism really stands for, and particularly what Municipal Socialism stands for, we shall have no reason to fight shy of it. Consciously or unconsciously we have been moving in the direction of Municipal Socialism. Today every modern municipality has taken upon its shoulders immense duties which were unthinkable twenty or thirty years ago. The sphere of these social duties and responsibilities is, we may well say, fast expanding from day to day. Today a modern municipality has to furnish not merely

pure drinking water, roads, lighting. etc., but it has to provide primary education and it has to look after the health of the population and to tackle problems which the municipalities did not think of a few years ago. It is difficult to say where you are going to draw a line in future. You have in the case of the Birmingham Municipality a Municipal Bank and there are other municipalities in the West which have taken upon their shoulders duties and responsibilities which were unheard of and unthinkable a few decades ago. That is why I say that we have been moving consciously or unconsciously in the direction of Municipal Socialism. Municipal Socialism is nothing else but a collective effort for the service of the entire community. With this ideal before us, if we address ourselves to the task that awaits us and fulfil our duties in the most satisfactory manner, we shall be serving not merely the cause of our cities but the cause of humanity as well. We, who are interested in civic affairs, must take lessons not merely from the achievements of our own municipalities but we travel abroad, in Europe and America and also in the Far East, read literature and collect information about municipal problems there, so that we may work more efficiently and satisfactorily in our own cities. That is why I have stressed the point that your achievements here in Bombay are not only for your own fellow citizens but have a much wider significance.

Apart from the opportunities which we get by joining civic bodies—opportunities of civic service—there is another positive gain which we

can derive out of our association with them and that is this: our work in connection with these bodies equips us for the larger duties in public life. I think it was Bryce, one of the foremost political thinkers of England, who said that the real school of democracy is local self-government. Professor Laski and others have sung in the same tune. Today it is realised by all political thinkers and students of civic affairs that the real school of democracy is local self-government. Therefore, there is a double advantage which we derive from our association with local bodies.

One word more and I have done. We are frequently told by foreigners that municipal development, like other attempts at social progress in this country, have been the result of our contact with the West and that before we came into intimate touch with Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, very little had been achieved in the direction of civic progress. Sir, I should like to take this opportunity of giving the lie direct to this charge. In the sphere of municipal progress we are not creating something out of nothing, but we are building on ancient foundations. As in the sphere of village self-government we are building on very ancient foundations, so also in the sphere of local self-government we are doing the same. One has only to turn to the ancient relics of Mohenjodaro to realise what a high degree of civic achievement our forefathers in this ancient land could boast of. And after the age of Mohenjodaro if you come to the Mauryan empire and study the records and descriptions of the

capital of the empire, viz., Pataliputra, you will find that the city of Pataliputra was not only a highly developed city but the municipal government of that city had varied functions, functions which can compare very favourably with those of any modern municipality. For words like Mayor and other modern municipal terms you will find synonyms in our ancient language which were then in vogue. Then came what may be called the Dark Age in Indian history. During this Dark Age there was a set-back not only municipal progress but in other departments of national life as well. But because of the Dark Age one should not conclude that prior to that, we had not achieved any progress in civic affairs. It is necessary to remind our countrymen about this, because unfortunately as a result of our agelong servitude we have to a large extent forgotten our own past. It is only on account of the researches, past and present, made by our own scholars and historians that have unravelled to us our own forgotten past, that we can now realise what progress our forefathers had once made in the domain of civic affairs. Therefore, we can claim that in the matter of civic progress we are building on ancient foundations. That I think will give us inspiration in addressing ourselves to the problems of the present and of the future.

Sir, I am afraid my reply which was meant to be a short one has developed into something like a sermon. I had no intention of sermonising. I had got up with the intention of primarily thanking you from the bottom of my heart for the very

great honour you have done me—honour, which I take it, is meant for the Indian National Congress of which I am a humble servant. Let me express a fervent hope that your city will make progress from day to day in the domain of civic affairs and will set an example to other civic bodies in this country and abroad. I wish you, Sir, and the corporation all success in the arduous task that awaits you at present and in the future. Once again I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

# Science and Politics

**Answers to Questions posed by Meghnad Saha.**

The Indian Science News Association invited Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the then President of the Congress to preside over the third general meeting of the Association on August 21, 1938. Professor Meghnad Saha put certain questions to Netaji at the meeting. Here are the relevant proceedings.

*Question:* May I enquire whether the India of the future is going to revive the philosophy of village life, of the bullock-cart—thereby perpetuating servitude, or is she going to be a modern industrialised nation which, having developed all her natural resources, will solve the problems of poverty, ignorance and defence and will take an honoured place in the comity of nations and begin a new cycle in civilisation ?

If the Congress High Command decides on a policy of industrialisation, are they going to set up a rationalised scheme of industrialisation and establish a National Research Council and mobilise the scientific intelligentsia of the country ? I put the question because the Congress has come into power in several provinces and because there is a great confusion of ideas regarding the future industrialisation of India.

*Answer:* The movement of Indian emancipation has reached a stage when Swaraj is no longer a dream—no longer an ideal to be attained in the

distant future. On the contrary, we are within sight of power—seven out of eleven provinces of British India are now under Congress ministries. Limited though the powers of those governments are, they have yet to handle the problems of reconstruction within their respective domains. How are we to solve these problems ? We want, first and foremost, the aid of science in this task.

The Congress and the task of National Reconstruction: I have always held the view and I said so in my presidential speech at the Haripura Congress that the party that fights for freedom cannot liquidate itself when power is won. That party should face the task of post-war reconstruction as well. Hence, Congressmen of today have not only to strive for liberty, but they have also to devote a portion of their thought and energy to problems of national reconstruction. And national reconstruction will be possible only with the aid of science and our scientists.

May I now, with your permission, place before you some of my ideas on the problems of national reconstruction ? We hear very often nowadays of schemes for bringing about industrial recovery in this land. An officer in this province recently wrote a voluminous book on a recovery plan for Bengal. The problem we have to face is not industrial recovery, however, but industrialisation. India is still in the pre-industrial stage of evolution. No industrial advancement is possible until we first pass through the throes of an industrial revolution. Whether we like it or not, we have to

reconcile of the fact that the present epoch is the industrial epoch in modern history. There is no escape from the industrial revolution. We can at best determine whether this revolution, that is industrialisation, will be a comparatively gradual one, as in Great Britain, or a forced march as in Soviet Russia. I am afraid that it has to be a forced march in this country.

I have no doubt that when we have a national government for the whole country, one of the first things we shall have to do is to appoint a National Planning Commission for the whole country. As a matter of fact our ministries in the seven provinces have already been feeling the need of a uniform industrial policy and programme. Anticipating this, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution a year ago, soon after the Congress ministries came into existence, to the effect that it was necessary to appoint a committee of experts to advise the Congress governments on industrial matters. This view was confirmed by the Congress Premiers' Conference which met in May, 1938, in Bombay under my chairmanship. Therefore, the appointment of the committee of experts has been before the Working Committee and at its last meeting in July, the Working Committee decided that as a preliminary step, I shall convene a conference of the Industries Ministers of seven Congress-administered provinces. I am stating all these facts to show that without waiting for the advent of Purna Swaraj, we are moving in the direction of economic planning.

Though I do not rule out cottage industries

and though I hold that every attempt should be made to preserve and also revive cottage industries wherever possible, I maintain that economic planning for India should mean largely planning for the industrialisation of India. And industrialisation, as you will all agree, does not mean the promotion of industries for manufacturing umbrella-handles and bell-metal plates, as Sir John Anderson would have us believe.

I gratefully recognise the fact that your magazine *Science and Culture* has helped to direct intelligent thoughts in this country towards the problems of industrialisation. The articles published periodically on Electric Power Supply, Flood-control, River-physics, need for establishing a National Research Council, etc., have been highly illuminating and instructive.

I should now like to make a few observations on the principles of national planning:

(1) Though from the industrial point of view the world is one unit, we should nevertheless aim at national autonomy, especially in the field of our principal needs and requirements.

(2) We should adopt a policy aiming at the growth and development of the mother industries, viz., power supply, metal production, machine and tools manufacture, manufacture of essential chemical, transport and communication industries, etc.

(3) We should also tackle the problem of technical education and technical research. So

far as technical education is concerned, as in the case of Japanese students, our students should be sent abroad for training in accordance with a clear and definite plan so that as soon as they return home, they may proceed straightaway to build up new industries.

So far as technical research is concerned, we shall all agree that it should be free from governmental control of every kind. It is only in this unfortunate country that government servants are entrusted with scientific research on receipt of princely salaries and we know very well what results have been obtained therefrom.

(4) There should be a permanent National Research Council.

(5) Lastly, as a preliminary step towards national planning, there should be an economic survey of the present industrial position with a view to securing the necessary data for the National Planning Commission.

These are, in brief, some of my ideas on the problems of industrialisation and national reconstruction and I believe they are held in common by scientific men and women in this country. We, who are practical politicians, need your help, who are scientists, in the shape of ideas. We can, in our turn, help to propagate these ideas and when the citadel of power is finally captured, can help to translate these ideas into reality. What is want-

ed is far reaching co-operation between science and politics.

Professor Saha has in the course of his illuminating address, asked me what the attitude of the Congress is towards the problems of industrialisation. I must say that all Congressmen do not hold the same view on this question. Nevertheless, I may say without any exaggeration that the rising generation are in favour of industrialisation and for several reasons. Firstly, industrialisation is necessary for solving the problem of unemployment. Though scientific agriculture will increase the production of the land, if food is to be given to every man and woman, a good portion of the population will have to be transferred from land to industry. Secondly, the rising generation are now thinking in terms of Socialism as the basis of national reconstruction and Socialism presupposes industrialisation. Thirdly, industrialisation is necessary if we have to compete with foreign industries.

Lastly, industrialisation is necessary for improving the standard of living of the people at large.

Professor Saha has asked another question, viz., whether India will be one nation when she is freed from British control. To this I may reply that we of the Congress are conscious of our responsibility in matter of achieving Indian unity and solidarity. We want to go not the way of China, but the way of Turkey. But we shall have to work very hard indeed, if we want to hold together as one nation when we are free. For promoting

national unity and solidarity, many things are needed, viz., a common lingua franca, a common dress, a common diet, etc. The Congress, as you are aware, has been advocating Hindustani as the lingua franca of this country. But I believe that what is wanted most of all is the will to be one nation and to hold together as one nation, when foreign domination ceases. Thus, to my mind, the problem of unity is largely a psychological problem. The people must be educated and drilled to feel that they are one nation. Other factors, like a language, dress, food, etc., may help unity, but cannot create it. In addition to this national will, what is needed for maintaining national unity and solidarity is an all-India party. That party is the Congress. We find in history that each country has produced a party for the purpose of unifying the people of that country. The Communist Party in Russia, the Nazi Party in Germany, the Fascist Party in Italy and Kemal's Party in Turkey are instances in point. The Congress party in India will play the unifying role which the above parties have played in their respective countries.

# The Industrial Problems of India

Full text of address delivered at the Industries Ministers' Conference in Delhi, October 2, 1938.

Let me at the outset thank you all heartily for responding to my invitation and attending this conference in spite of inconvenience and loss of time. This conference is the first of its kind since the Congress undertook the responsibility of government in the provinces. Ever since it was decided to permit Congressmen to accept ministerial office, the problem of developing the industries of our country and the question of co-ordination of our resources with a view to that end has been engaging the earnest attention of the Working Committee.

At its sitting in August, 1937, the Working Committee adopted the following resolutions :

> The Working Committee recommends to the Congress Ministries the appointment of a Committee of Experts tc consider urgent and vital problems, the solution of which is necessary to any scheme of national reconstruction and social planning. Such solution will require extensive surveys and the collection of data, as well as a clearly defined social objective. Many of these problems cannot be dealt with effectively on a provincial basis and the interests of the adjoining provinces are interlinked. Comprehensive river surveys are necessary for formu-

lation of a policy to prevent disastrous floods, to utilize the water for purposes of irrigation, to consider the problem of soil erosion, to eradicate malaria, and for the development of hydro-electric and other schemes. For this purpose the whole river valley will have to be surveyed and investigated, and large-scale state planning resorted to. The development and control of industries require also joint and co-ordinated action on the part of several provinces. The Working Committee advises therefore that, to begin with, an inter-provincial Committee of Experts be appointed to consider the general nature of the problems to be faced, and to suggest how, and in what order, these should be tackled. This Experts Committee may suggest the formation of special committees or boards to consider each such problem separately and to advise the provincial governments concerned as to the joint action to be undertaken.

In May last, I convened in Bombay a conference of the Premiers of the seven Congress Provinces which was attended by some members of the Working Committee and also by several ministers. On that occasion, we discussed, as some of you will remember, the problems of industrial reconstruction, development of power resources and power supply as well as the general question of co-ordination and co-operation among the Congress Provinces. If I remember aright, those who attended the conference were of the view that the Working Committee should take the initiative in

appointing a committee of experts to advise the Congress ministries on the above problem.

The Working Committee in July last adopted the following resolution :

> With reference to the resolution passed by the Working Committee at Wardha on August 14-17, 1937, relating to the appointment of an Experts Committee to explore the possibilities of an All-India Industrial Plan, it is resolved that as a preliminary step the President be authorized to convene a conference of the Ministers of Industries at an early date and call for a report of the existing industries in different provinces and the needs and possibilities of new ones.

This Conference has been called in pursuance of this resolution.

It is needless for me to point out that with the problems of poverty and unemployment looming so large in our national life today, the question of utilising all our resources to the best advantage of the nation has assumed enormous importance. It is essential to improve the miserable lot of our peasantry and to raise the general standard of living. This cannot be achieved merely by the improvement of agriculture. Greater efficiency in agricultural methods, which is certainly desirable, may give us more and cheaper food and other necessities of life obtained from agriculture, but it will not solve the problem of poverty and unemployment. This may appear paradoxical but a little consideration will show that greater efficiency

means that the same production in agriculture can be effected by less than the present number of agriculturists. In that eventuality the present situation of unemployment may become worse as a result of scientific agriculture.

How then shall we tackle this formidable problem? It is our aim to see that everybody — man, woman and child, is better clothed, better educated and has sufficient leisure for recreation and for cultural activity. If this aim is to be realised the quantity of industrial products has to be increased considerably; necessary works have to be organised and a large proportion of village population have to be diverted to industrial occupations.

India is a country with resources similar to those of the United States of America. Her mineral wealth and other natural resources are superabundant. What is wanted is their systematic and organised exploitation by us in the best interest of the nation. Every country in the world that has grown rich and prosperous has done so through the fullest development of its industries. I shall here cite the example of only one country. Before the Great War, Russia was no better than India. She was mainly an agricultural country and nearly 70 per cent of the population were peasants, almost as miserable and wretched as our peasants today. Industries were in a backward state, power was undeveloped and was considered a luxury. She was without knowledge of her power resources, without experts and technicians. But within the last sixteen years she has passed from a community of primarily half-starved peasants to one of

primarily well-fed and well-clothed industrial workers. She has achieved a considerable measure of success in her efforts to solve the problem of poverty, disease and famine which perpetually haunted her peasant population before the Revolution. This has been largely due to planned industrialisation of the whole country which presupposed a scheme of planned electrification. This marvellous progress in Russia in a very short period deserves our careful study and attention, irrespective of the political theories on which this State is based. I have quoted the example of Russia merely because of the resemblance which the pre-war conditions there bear to those in our country and to show how far a scheme of planned industrialisation can take us on the path to all-round prosperity.

We Congressmen of today have not only to strive for liberty but have also to devote a portion of our thought and energy to problems of national reconstruction, considering that we are within sight of power and Swaraj is no longer a dream to be realized in the distant future. National reconstruction will be possible only with the aid of science and our scientists. There is at the present day a lot of loose talk about schemes for bringing about industrial recovery in this land. To my mind the principal problem that we have to face is not industrial recovery but industrialisation. India is still in the pre-industrial stage of evolution. No industrial advancement is possible until we pass through the throes of an industrial revolution. If the industrial revolution is an evil, it is a neces-

sary evil. We can only try our best to mitigate the ills that have attended its advent in other countries. Furthermore, we have to determine whether this revolution will be a comparatively gradual one, as in Great Britain, or a forced march as in Soviet Russia. I am afraid that it has to be a forced march in this country. In the world, as it is constituted today, a community which resists industrialisation has little chance of surviving international competition.

At this stage I should like to make it perfectly clear that there need not be a conflict between cottage industries and large-scale industries. Such conflict, if any, arises out of misunderstanding. I am a firm believer in the need of developing our cottage industries, though I also hold that we have to reconcile ourselves to industrialisation. We find that in the most industrially advanced countries of Europe a large number of cottage industries still exist and thrive. In our country we know of cottage industries — like the handloom industry for instance — which have withstood competition with Indian and foreign mills and have not lost ground. Industrialisation does not therefore mean that we turn our back on cottage industries. Far from it. It only means that we shall have to decide which industries should be developed on a cottage basis and which on a large-scale basis. In the peculiar national economy which exists in India today, and in view of the limited resources of our people, we should do our very best to develop cottage industries, side by side with large-scale industries.

Industries may be roughly classified under three heads — heavy, medium and cottage industries. Heavy industries at the present time are no doubt the greatest value for the rapid economic development of the country. They form the backbone of our national economy. We cannot unfortunately make much headway in this direction until we capture power at the Centre and secure full control of our fiscal policy. The medium-scale industries can be started by business leaders with Government co-operation and help. As regards cottage industries, I have already observed that there need not be any conflict between their development and that of large-scale industries.

I should now like to make a few observations on the principles of national planning :

*(a)* Though from the industrial point of view the world is one unit, we should nevertheless aim at national autonomy especially in the field of our principal needs and requirements.

*(b)* We should adopt a policy aiming at the growth and development of the mother industries, viz., power supply, metal production, machine and tools manufacture, manufacture of essential chemicals, transport and communication industries, etc.

*(c)* We should also tackle the problem of technical education and technical research. So far as technical education is concerned, as in the case of Japanese students, our students should be sent abroad for training in

accordance with a clear and definite plan so that as soon as they return home they may proceed straight-away to build up new industries. So far as technical research is concerned, we shall agree that it should be freed from governmental control of every kind.

*(d)* There should be a permanent national research council.

*(e)* Last but not the least, as a preliminary step towards national planning, there should be an economic survey of the present industrial position with a view to securing the necessary data for the National Planning Commission.

I shall now draw your attention to some of the problems which you may have to consider at this conference :

(1) Arrangement for a proper economic survey of each province.

(2) Co-ordination between cottage industries and large-scale industries with a view to preventing overlapping.

(3) The advisability of having regional distribution of industries.

(4) Rules regarding technical training in India and abroad for our students.

(5) Provisions for technical research.

(6) Advisibility of adopting a committee of experts to give further advice on the problems of industrialisation.

If these problems could be tackled at this conference, I am sure that our purpose in meeting here this afternoon would be fulfilled. As I have indicated at the outset, we have to go into the question of the existing industries in the different provinces and the needs and possibilities of new ones. We can fulfil this task only if we tackle a variety of problems some of which I have indicated above

In conclusion, I express the ardent hope that through your help and co-operation the conference may prove to be a success and may afford a powerful impetus to the industrial regeneration of our poor and exploited country.

**Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru**

*In the train*
*October 19, 1938*

My dear Jawahar,

You must be wondering what a strange creature I am, not to have replied to all your letters, I got them all right, however. Your letters to the members of the Working Committee have been shared by all. You have been kept informed by Kripalani and other friends about developments here. Your statements at the time of the war crisis were timely and were helpful to us.

You cannot imagine how I have missed you all these months. I realise, of course, that you needed a change very badly. I am only sorry that you did not give yourself enough physical rest. On the whole, you had a very good press here—thanks to Reuter. The public were kept informed of your movements and activities in Europe and they have been following your utterances with the keenest interest. I am extremely glad that you have been able to do such valuable work during your stay in Europe—though we have missed you very badly here.

Several problems will await solution till you are back. There is the Hindu-Muslim question. Mr. Jinnah is unreasonable and intransigent. There is a rift between the right and the left in the A.I.C.C. The latter staged a walk-out which Mahatmaji has taken to heart. Then there is the international question.

I hope you will accept the Chairmanship of the Planning Committee. You must if it is to be a success.

Love,

Yours affectionately
Subhas

PS I am reaching Calcutta tomorrow from Bombay.

# The National Planning Committee

Inauguration speech at the first meeting of the All-India National Planning Committee at Bombay on December 17, 1938.

In the beginning of his speech Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, outlined the industrial possibilities of the country and emphasised the need for the Committee to see that in whatever suggestions it made for the industrial regeneration of the country, the interests of the smaller village industries were strictly safeguarded. He said :

During the last few weeks, I have noticed an apprehension in certain quarters as to the possible effects of our efforts to industrial planning on the movement that has been going on since 1921 for the production of Khadi and the promotion of cottage industries under the auspices of the All-India Spinners Association and the All-India Village Industries Association respectively. It may be remembered that at Delhi I made it perfectly clear in my opening speech that there was no inherent conflict between cottage industries and large-scale industries. As a matter of fact, I divided industries into three classes: cottage, medium-scale and large-scale industries and I pleaded for a plan which would lay down the scope of each of these classes. Not only that. In the National Planning Commission we have reserved a seat for a repre-

sentative of the All-India Village Industries Association and a similar seat could also be arranged for in the National Planning Committee. It would be doing us a grave injustice if it be urged or even apprehended that the promoters of the National Planning Commission want to sabotage the movement for the revival of cottage industries.

Everybody knows or should know that even in the most industrially advanced countries in Europe and Asia, e.g., Germany and Japan, there are plenty of cottage industries which are in flourishing condition. Why then should we have any apprehension with regard to our own country?

I may now add a few remarks on the relation between cottage industries and large-scale industries. Among large-scale industries, mother industries are the most important, because they aim at producing the means of production. They put into the hands of artisans necessary appliances and tools for facilitating quicker and cheaper production. For example, if in the city of Benares we could supply electrically driven looms along with electrical power at the rate of half-anna per unit, it would be possible for the artisans working in their own homes to twin out sarees and embroidered cloth of different varieties at about five or six times the present rate of production and it would enable them to compare successfully with foreign imported goods of this description. With a good marketing organisation and an organisation for the supply of raw materials, these artisans can be rescued from the depths of poverty and misery to which they have fallen.

This is not the only instance which I can give. If the power industry and the machinery manufacturing industries are controlled by the State for the welfare of the nation, a large number of light industries like the manufacture of bicycles, fountain pens and toys can be started in this country by men of the artisan class working with the family as a unit. This is exactly what has been done in Japan. Success depends entirely upon the fact that power and machinery are extremely cheap and the Japanese Government have set up boards for the supply of raw materials and for proper marketing. I believe that this is the only way by means of which the handloom industry and the silk industry of our country can be revived.

The National Planning Committee will have to tackle specific problems. It will have first to direct its attention to the mother industries, i.e., those industries which make the other industries run successfully—such as the power industry, industries for the production of metals, heavy chemicals, machinery and tools, and communication industries like railway, telegraph, telephone and radio.

Our country is backward in respect of power supply compared with other industrially advanced countries. In the matter of electrical power particularly India's backwardness can be gauged from the fact that while in India we have at present only seven units per head, a backward country like Mexico has ninety-six units per head and

Japan about five hundred units per head. In developing electrical power, the Government has squandered money: take the instance of the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme on which the Government has spent ten times as much as other countries have done on similar efforts. How I wish an enquiry could be made into the manufacture of machinery and machine tools with a view to keeping up supplies in the event of interruption of communications with foreign countries owing to war or any other causes. The other key industries into which an inquiry should be started are the fuel industry, the metal production and heavy chemical industries. In this respect the resources of the country have not been properly investigated and, whatever little industry there is, is being controlled by foreigners, with the result that there is a lot of wastage. This is particularly true of the fuel industry.

The last key industry is the transport and communications industry which includes railways, steamships, electrical communications, radio, etc. At present the railways are controlled by the Railway Board, which is entirely under European management and only a small fraction of the requirements of the railways is manufactured in the country. As regards steam navigation, excepting coastal traffic, the entire communication is in the hands of non-Indians owing to unfair privileges enjoyed by them. Electrical goods are entirely supplied by foreign countries. As regards radio, I would like to suggest the setting up of a special sub-committee to investigate its possibilities.

Lastly, we will have to consider the most important problem of finding the necessary capital and credit for our plan industrialisation. Unless this problem is solved, all our plans will remain mere paper schemes and we shall not make any headway in our industrial progress.

# PART II

The Thought — The seeds were sown in 1921

# Letters to Deshbandhu

*The following two letters were written to Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and were sent by Netaji through a friend for being delivered to him personally. The letters have been translated from the originals in Bengali.*

The Union Society
Cambridge
16th February (1921)

Sir,

I am probably a stranger to you. But you will perhaps recognize me if I tell you who I am. I am writing this letter to you on one very important matter—but before I come to business I must first prove my sincerity. Therefore I shall first introduce myself.

My father Mr. Janakinath Bose is a practising advocate at Cuttack and was the Government Pleader there a few years ago. One of my elder brothers Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose is a barrister of Calcutta High Court. You may know my father and you surely know my elder brother.

Five years ago I was a student of Presidency College. During the trouble in 1916 I was expelled from the University. After losing two years I obtained permission to resume my college studies. Thereafter in 1919 I passed the B.A. examination and got a first class in Honours.

I arrived here in 1919 in the month of October. I passed the Civil Service examination in

August 1920 and secured the fourth place. In June this year I shall take the examination in Moral Science Tripos. The same month I shall get the B.A. degree here.

Now I shall come to business. I have no desire at all to enter government service. I have written to my father and brother at home that I wish to give up the Service. I have not had their reply yet. In order to get their consent, I have to convince them of what tangible work I want to do after giving up the service. I know very well that if after quitting the service I plunge into national work with resolute determination, I shall have plenty to do, viz, teaching at the National College, writing and publishing books and newspapers, organisation of village societies, spreading education among the common people, etc. But, if I can now show to my family what tangible work I wish to undertake—it will probably be easier for me to obtain their permission to leave the service. If I can give up the service with their agreement there will be no need to do anything against their will.

You know best about the situation in the country. I heard you had established National Colleges in Calcutta and Dacca and that you wanted to bring out a newspaper 'Swaraj' in English and Bengali. I have heard also that in various places in Bengal village societies, etc. have been established.

I should like to know what work you may be able to allot to me in this great programme of national service. Of education and intelligence I

have but little—but I believe I have the enthusiasm of youth. I am a bachelor. As regards my education, I have read something of philosophy because that was my Honours subject in Calcutta and I am doing the same subject in my Tripos here. Thanks to the Civil Service examination I have had an all-round education up to a certain standard—such as, Economics, Political Science, English and European History, Law, Sanskrit, Geography, etc.

I believe that if I can join this work, I shall be able to bring one or two Bengali friends from here into it. But until I personally enter the field, I cannot drag anybody else into it.

I cannot visualize from here which are the suitable fields of work in our country at present. But I have the feeling that on my return to my country, I should be able to take up two kinds of work, teaching in college and writing for newspapers. I desire to give up the service with clear-cut plans. If I can do that, I shall not have to spend time in thinking and I shall be able to enter the field of work immediately after throwing up the service.

You are today the high priest of the festival of national service in Bengal — that is why I am writing this letter to you. Echoes of the great movement that you have launched in India have reached here through letters and newspapers. The call of the motherland has thus been heard here also. A Madrassi student from Oxford is suspending his studies for the time being and returning

home to start work there. Not much work has so far been done at Cambridge although a lot of discussion is continuing on 'non-co-operation'. I believe if one person can show the way there will be people here to follow in his footsteps.

You are the apostle of our national service programme in Bengal — I have therefore come to you today — with whatever little education, intelligence, strength and enthusiasm that I may possess. I have nothing much to dedicate at the altar of our motherland — all that I have is my conscience and my weak physical frame.

My purpose in writing to you is only to ask you what work you may be able to give me in this gigantic programme of national service. If I know that, I shall be able to write to my father and brother at home accordingly and I shall be able to prepare my mind in that light.

I am now in a sense a government servant. Because I am now an I.C.S. Probationer. I did not dare to write to you direct lest my letter is censored. I am sending this letter through a trusted friend of mine Mr. Pramatha Nath Sarkar—he will deliver this letter personally to you. Whenever I shall write to you, I shall be doing so in this way. You may of course write to me because there is no danger of letters being censored here.

I have not told anybody of my intentions here — I have written only to my father and brother at home. I am now a government servant — so, I hope, you will not mention this matter to anyone till I have resigned from the service. I have

nothing more to say. I am now ready — you have only to command me to go into action.

My personal feeling is that if you start with the English edition of Swaraj, I may be working as one of the sub-editorial staff. Besides, I may be teaching the junior classes of National College.

I have quite a few ideas in my mind regarding the Congress. I think there must be a permanent meeting place for the Congress. We must have a house for this purpose. There will be a group of research students there who will be carrying on research on various national problems. As far as I am aware, our Congress has no definite policy relating to Indian currency and exchange. And then, it has probably not been decided what sort of attitude the Congress should adopt towards the Native States. It is perhaps not known what the stand of the Congress is in regard to franchise (for men and women). And further, the Congress has not only probably made up its mind as to what we should do about the Depressed Classes. Because of lack of effort in this regard (that is, about the Depressed Classes), all non-Brahmins of Madras have become pro-Government and anti-nationalist.

My personal views is that the Congress has to maintain a permanent staff. They will do research on individual problems. Each one will collect up-to-date facts and figures, and after all such facts and figures have been collected, the Congress Committee will formulate a policy vis-a-vis every individual problem. Today the Congress has no

definite policy with regard to many national problems. That is why I think the Congress must have permanent quarters and a permanent staff of research students.

Besides, the Congress should open an Intelligence Department. It has to be so arranged that all up-to-date news and facts and figures about our country are available in the Intelligence Department. Booklets will be published in every provincial language by the Propaganda Department and will be distributed free among the general public. Apart from that, a book will be published by the Propaganda Department on each and every question in our national life. In such a book the policy of the Congress will be explained and the grounds on which such a policy has been formulated will also be given. I have written so much. These questions are not new to you. I could not help writing about them as to me they appear to be quite new. I feel that tremendous work lies ahead of us in connection with the Congress. If you so wish, I shall probably be able to make some contribution in this respect.

I shall be awaiting your views. I am anxious to know what are the different kinds of work you may be able to assign to me. If you desire to send somebody to England to learn journalism, I am prepared to take this work up. If I am given this work, expenses on account of passage and outfits will be saved. I shall of course resign from the service before I take up this work. You will no doubt pay for my board and lodging because after

giving up the service there will be no justification for my accepting money from home.

My personal wish is to leave for home in the month of June if I quit the service. But I am prepared to forego that wish if necessary.

You will forgive the great length of this letter. I hope you will let me have your reply as early as possible. Please accept my *pronams*.

I am
Yours respectfully,
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

My address:
Fitz William Hall,
Cambridge.

**The Second Letter**

The Union Society
Cambridge
2nd March, 1921

Sir,

I wrote you a letter a few days ago — I hope you received it in due time.

I expect you will be happy to learn that I have all but made up my mind to resign from the service. I have told you in my previous letter what different kinds of work I may be suitable for. I cannot visualize clearly from here what sort of work offers the best scope at the present time. You are now actively in the field — you will therefore know very well what kind of work presents

the best possibilities and what sort of workers are needed at present.

It is my request that

You may kindly not mention this matter to anybody till you receive news of my resignation from the service. If I give up the service, I should like to return home towards the end of June provided of course I can secure a passage in time. I am eager to know what sort of work awaits me at home — because I wish to prepare my mind accordingly. Besides, it is also possible to undertake studies here according to the nature of the work that I shall be taking up on my return home. I hope you will let me have a reply on this point as early as possible.

Certain ideas are coming to my mind — I am communicating them to you.

(1) I may take up teaching at the National College. I have read a little of Western philosophy.

(2) If you publish a daily newspaper in English, I may work as one of the sub-editorial staff.

(3) If you open a research department for the Congress, I may also work there. I have written about this at some length in my previous letter. I think we must have a band of research students. They will deal with individual problems in our national life and collect facts about them. Then the Congress will appoint a committee and that committee will consider all such facts and formulate the policy of the Congress on each question.

Our Congress has no distinctive policy regard-

ing Currency and Exchange, neither has the Congress a clear-cut policy about Labour and factory legislation. Then, our Congress has no definite policy about Vagrancy and Poor Relief and, again, the Congress has probably no determined policy as to the type of the Constitution we are going to have after the attainment of Swaraj. In my view the Congress-League scheme is entirely out-of-date. We must now frame the Constitution of India on the basis of Swaraj.

You may well say that the Congress is now engaged in pulling down the existing order, so until this work of demolition has been completed it is not possible to start constructive activity; but I am of the view that right from now when the work of destruction is going on, we must begin to create. To be able to formulate a policy in respect of any problem of our national life will require thinking and research over a long period of time. So research should start right from now. If the Congress can draw up a complete programme, we shall not have to worry about our policy in respect of any question when we have achieved Swaraj.

And then, there has to be an Intelligence Department of the Congress, where all information about the country will be available. It will be necessary for this department to publish booklets. Our book will deal with one particular problem — for instance, the rates of birth and death during the last decade and the mortality rates due to different diseases.

Further, India's position in the last decade as regards revenue and expenditure will be published in another book — what have been the sources of revenue and what have been the items of expenditure. Thus we shall have to spread information throughout the country on all aspects of our national life through small publications.

(4) There is plenty of scope for work directed to the spread of education among the common people. Simultaneously with such activity, it will be necessary to establish Co-operative Banks.

(5) Social Service.

It is my view that there is scope for work in the above directions. But it will be for you to consider in which department you would have me. Of course teaching and journalism are the sort of work that appeals to me. I may make a beginning with these for the present and then, as opportunities present themselves, take part in other activities also. To me, giving up the service means taking the vow of poverty; so I shall not refer at all to my emoluments; bare subsistence will be enough for me.

If I can take up the work with full determination, I believe I shall be able to bring one or two Bengali friends here into it.

In Bengal you are the high priest of the great movement of national service that is now being organised. I have come to the end of what I had to say—now it is for you to let me participate in your great work.

As soon as I quit the service, people here will be asking me what I shall do on my return home. So, for my own satisfaction and in the interest of self-justification to others, I am most anxious to know how you can utilise my services.

I hope you will please keep all these matters confidential for the present.

Please accept my *pronams*.

I am
Yours respectfully,
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

# Free India and Her Problems

*(This article appeared in a German periodical in August 1942)*

## The New Awakening

The British occupation of India began in 1757 when one province — namely Bengal first passed into the hands of the British. The occupation was extended by stages and was finally completed in 1858, after the failure of the great revolution of 1857. This revolution is described by the English historians as "Sepoy Mutiny", but is regarded by the Indian people as the "First War of Independence". In the early stages, the revolution was very successful, but it failed at the end, owing to certain defects in strategy and in diplomacy, on the part of the Indian leaders. On the British side, both strategy and diplomacy were superior. Nevertheless the British could win only with the greatest difficulty. After the failure of the revolution there was a reign of terror throughout the country. The Indian people were thoroughly disarmed and they continued to be disarmed up to the present day. They now realise that they committed the greatest blunder in their history by submitting to disarmament in 1858, because disarmament weakened and emasculated the nation to a large extent.

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*The Essential Writings of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose*, Ed. Sisir Kumar Bose & Sugate Bose, Netaji Research Bureau, 1997.

After the failure of the great revolution of 1857, the Indian people were depressed for a time. Then, in 1885, with the birth of Indian National Congress, began the political awakening — which was stimulated by revolutions in other parts of the world. With the beginning of the present century, the nationalist movement developed two methods, economic boycott of British goods and secret insurrection. In 1920, after the last world war, Gandhi introduced the new method of "mass civil disobedience", or passive resistance, the object of which was the overthrow of the foreign administration even without arms. All these developments have now brought India to a stage when it is possible for the Indian people to throw out the British from India.

**The Situation Today**

The situation in India today is such that the British are hated by everybody. But while the vast majority of the people wants to utilise the present international crisis for overthrowing the British yoke, a section of the population does not feel strong enough to do so and therefore wants to come to a compromise with the British Government with a view to getting what is possible out of them. There is no Indian who co-operates with the British out of moral conviction. Hence British rule does not rest on the goodwill of the Indian people but only on British bayonets.

Many people cannot understand how the British can dominate such a big country like India with a comparatively small army. The secret, however, is

that with a small but modern army, it is possible to suppress a vast but unarmed population. So long as this modern army of occupation is not involved in a war with another power, it can put down by sheer brute force any internal upheaval organised by people. But now that the British are engaged in a war with other powers and have been considerably weakened thereby, it has become possible for the Indian people to work up a revolution which will end British rule once for all. But it is necessary for the Indian people to take up arms in their struggle and to co-operate with those powers that are fighting Britain today. This task, Gandhi will not accomplish hence India now needs a new leadership.

**When India is Free**

A question which many people ask is as to what will happen when the British are forced to leave India. British propaganda has made many people think that without the British, there will be anarchy and chaos in India. These people conveniently forget that British occupation began only in 1757 and was not complete till 1857 — while India is a land whose history is measured by thousands of years. If culture, civilization, administration and economic prosperity were possible in India before British rule — they will also be possible after British rule. In fact, under British rule, the culture and civilization of India has been suppressed, the administration has been denationalized and a land that was formerly rich and prosperous has become one of the poorest in the world.

## A New Civil Administration

When the British are expelled from India, the first task will be to set up a new Government and establish order and public security. A new Government will necessarily imply the reorganisation of the civil administration and the creation of a national army. Reorganising the civil administration will be a comparatively easy task. In the past, the civil administration has always been run by the Indians and only at a top, have there been Britishers. But during the last twenty years, Indians have been gradually replacing Britishers in the highest positions. In the Central Government, the members of the Viceroy's Cabinet have been partly Indians. In the provincial Governments, since 1937, the Ministers have been all Indians and English officials have worked under them. In the highest positions whenever Indians have replaced Britishers, they have proved more capable than the latter. Indian Ministers and Indian officials know the country much better and are more interested in its welfare than Britishers. It is, therefore, natural that they should work more efficiently than Britishers have done in the past. In short, we have such a trained and experienced body of Indian officials today, that reorganising the civil administration will not be at all difficult. The new Government of Free India will only have to lay down a new policy and a new programme and furnish a new leadership at the top, for the civil administration.

**A National Army**

Building up a national army will be a more difficult task. India has, of course, a large number of trained and experienced soldiers and their number has been augmented as a result of the present war. But till quite recently, the Indian Army was officered largely by Britishers, and in the higher ranks, the officers were exclusively Britishers. Owing to war-conditions, the British have now been forced to appoint a large number of Indian officers and the higher ranks have also been opened to a few Indians. Modern weapons, like tanks, aeroplanes, heavy artillery etc., which were formerly reserved for Britishers, have, under the pressure of circumstances, also been handed over to Indians. Nevertheless, the dearth of Indian officers of high rank remains and will present some difficulty in building up a national army. In this connection, India's chief problem will be to train up a large number of officers of all ranks within a short period — say ten years and thereby complete the formation of a National Army. Along with the Army, a Navy and Air Force will also have to be built up and this work will have to be speeded up as much as possible. If India can enjoy peace for some time and if the assistance of some friendly powers be forthcoming, then the problem of organising national defence can be satisfactorily solved.

**The New State**

It would be wrong to dogmatise from now about the exact form of the future Indian state.

One can only indicate the principles which will underlie that state and determine its form. India has had experience of several Empires in the past and this experience will furnish the background on which we shall have to build in future. Then we shall have to consider the causes which led to our political downfall and prevent their recurrence in future. Further, we shall have to remember that the intelligentsia of India today is quite familiar with modern political institutions and is greatly interested in them. We shall also have to consider the political experiments made in different parts of Europe in the post-Versailles period. And lastly, we shall have to consider the requirements of the Indian situation.

One thing, however, is clear. There will be a strong Central Government. Without such a Government order and public security cannot be safeguarded. Behind this Government will stand a well-organised, disciplined all-India party, which will be the chief instrument for maintaining national unity.

The state will guarantee complete religious and cultural freedom for individuals and groups and there will be no state-religion. In the matter of political and economic rights there will be perfect equality among the whole population. When every individual has employment, food and education and has freedom in religious and cultural matters, there will be no more any minorities problem in India.

When the new regime is stabilised and the

state-machinery begins to function smoothly, power will be decentralized and the provincial governments will be given more responsibility.

**National Unity**

The state will have to do everything possible to unify the whole nation and all methods of propaganda — press, radio, cinema, theatre etc. will have to be utilised for this purpose. All anti-national and disruptive elements will have to be firmly suppressed — along with such secret British agents as may still exist in the country. An adequate police force will have to be organised for this purpose and the law will have to be amended, so that offences against national unity may be punished heavily. Hindustani, which is already understood in most parts of the country, will be adopted as the common language for India. Special emphasis will have to be laid on the proper education of boys and girls and of students in the schools and in the universities, so that they may imbibe the spirit of national unity at an early stage.

British propaganda has deliberately created the impression that the Indian Mohammedans are against the Independence movement. But this is altogether false. The fact is that in the nationalist movement, there is a large percentage of Mohammedans. The President of the Indian National Congress today is Azad — a Mohammedan. The vast majority of the Indian Mohammedans are anti-British and want to see India free. There are no doubt pro-British parties among the Mohammedans

and Hindus which are organised as religious parties. But they should not be regarded as representing the people.

The great revolution of 1857 was a grand example of national unity. The war was fought under the flag of Bahadur Shah, a Mohammedan, and all sections of the people joined in it. Since then, Indian Mohammedans have continued to work for national freedom. Indian Mohammedans are as much children of the soil as the rest of the Indian population and their interests are identical. The Mohammedan (*or* Muslim) problem in India today is an artificial creation of the British — similar to the Ulster problem in Ireland and the Jewish problem in Palestine. It will disappear when British rule is swept away.

**Social Problems**

When the new regime is stabilised, India will be able to concentrate her whole attention on the solution of the social problems. The most important social problem is that of poverty and unemployment. India's poverty under British rule has been due principally to two causes — systematic destruction of Indian industries by the British Government and lack of scientific agriculture. In pre-British days, India produced all her requirements in food and industry and she exported her surplus industrial products to Europe e.g., textile goods. The advent of the industrial revolution and political domination by Britain destroyed the old industrial structure of India and she was not allowed to build up a new one. Britain purposely kept India

in the position of a supplier of raw materials for British Industries. The result was that millions of Indians who formerly lived on industry, were thrown out of employment. Foreign rule has impoverished the peasantry and has prevented the introduction of modern scientific agriculture. The result of this has been that the once rich soil of India has a very poor yield and can no longer feed the present population. About seventy per cent of the peasantry have no work for about six months in the year. India will therefore need industrialisation and scientific agriculture through state aid, if she has to solve the problem of poverty and unemployment.

Under foreign rule, the Britisher was not only the ruler, but also the employer of labour. Hence, labour has been kept in a wretched condition. The Free Indian State will have to look after the welfare of the labourer, providing him with a living wage, sickness insurance, compensation for accident etc. Similarly, the peasant will have to be given relief from excessive taxation and also from his appalling indebtedness.

In this connection, institutions for welfare of labour, like "Arbeitsdienst", "Winterhilfe", "Kraft durch Freude" etc., will be of great interest to India. Next in importance is the problem of public health. This has also remained unsolved under British rule. Fortunately India now has a large number of qualified doctors who are even superior to the English doctors available in India and who are well acquainted with questions of public

health. Given state-support and sufficient financial help, they can launch a gigantic effort for eradicating disease. India's ancient systems of medicine, Ayurveda and Unani, can also be helpful in this connection.

Then we have the terrific problem of illiteracy, the percentage of which is about ninety per cent in many parts of the country. But this problem is not at all difficult to tackle, if the state can provide the necessary funds. We have now a large number of educated men and women, who are without employment. Under Free India, all these men and women could be sent to work at once all over the country in order to erect Schools, Colleges and Universities. Side by side with this work, experiments will have to be made for evolving a national system of education in accordance with the needs of the Indian people. Fortunately, experiments are already being made in several places in this connection e.g., at Tagore's school, Santi Niketan, at the Gurukula institution at Hardwar, at the Hindu University at Banares, at Jamia-Milia National Muslim University at Delhi, at Gandhi's school, near Wardha etc. Moreover, there are the educational institutions which have been handed down to us from pre-British days which are also interesting.

Regarding the future script for India, my own view is that without forcibly abolishing the scripts now prevalent in the country, the Free India Government should encourage and popularise the Latin script.

**Finance**

The problem as to how Free India will get the money required for her big schemes is an important one. Britain has robbed India of her gold and silver and what little still remains, will certainly be removed, before the British leave the country. India's national economy will naturally, have to discard the Gold Standard and accept the doctrine that national wealth depends on Labour and production and not on gold. Foreign trade will have to be brought under state control and organised on the principle of barter (exchange of goods) as Germany has done since 1933.

**Planning Committee**

While dealing with the problems of reconstruction, it would be interesting to know that in December, 1938, when I was the President of the Indian National Congress, I inaugurated a National Planning Committee, for drawing up plans for reconstruction in every department of life. This Committee has already done valuable work and its reports will be helpful for our future activity.

**The Princes**

The Indian Princes and their States are an anachronism which must soon be abolished. They would have disappeared long ago, if the British had not preserved them in order to hamper the unification of the country. Most of the Princes are active supporters of the British Government and there is not a single Prince who is likely to play a role, similar to that which Piemont played in the

Risorgimento movement in Italy. Among the people of the States who are one-fourth of the total Indian population, there is a popular movement which is closely connected with the Congress movement in British India. The princes will naturally disappear along with the British rule, since most of them are very unpopular with their own people. But they cannot present any difficulty to the Free India Government for the simple reason that the British Government has not allowed any Prince to have a modern Army. Contrary to expectation, if the Princes were to join the revolution, one would naturally come to a settlement with them.

**International Relations**

In the past, one of the causes of India's down fall has been her isolation from the outside world. In future, India must, therefore, remain in intimate contact with other nations. Geographically, India has a position between the East and the West, which will probably conform to her cultural, economic and political role.

It is but natural that in future India should have the closest relations with the Tripartite Powers who are now fighting India's enemy.

India will need help from abroad for her speedy industrialisation as well as for the organisation of her Army, Navy and Air Force. She will, therefore, require machinery of all kinds, scientific and technical knowledge and equipment, and scientific and technical experts. She will also require military experts and military equipment for

building up her national defence. In these matters, the Tripartite Powers can render valuable assistance. In Free India, the standard of living will rise rapidly and, in consequence thereof, consumption will increase by leaps and bounds. Free India will thereby become one of the biggest markets for manufactured goods. This should be of interest to all industrially advanced countries.

In return, India could contribute something to the common culture and civilization of humanity. In religion and philosophy, in architecture, in painting, dancing and music and in other arts and handicrafts, India could offer something unique to the world. And judging from the progress made, despite the handicaps of foreign rule, I feel sure that very soon India will be able to achieve much in scientific research and industrial development.

Young India has a gigantic task to fulfil. There are tremendous difficulties to overcome, no doubt, but there is also the joy and glory of struggle and ultimate victory.

# The Fundamental Problems of India

Speech delivered at Tokyo University, November 1944.

I do not propose to speak to such a distinguished gathering on the commonplace things that you hear or read about India. I think it would be far better if I speak to you on the more fundamental problems of India. Having been a student of philosophy myself, I am naturally more interested in fundamental problems. I hope you will also agree with me that I should rather speak to you today on some of the fundamental problems that face my country, both in the present as well as in the future.

In my travels abroad, I have often found that people generally have a wrong and sometimes a rather funny idea about my country. For instance, among the people in Europe, the general idea about India is that it is a land in which three things can be found: snakes, fakirs and maharajas. Among those who have been influenced by British propaganda, the general idea about India is that it is a country where people are always fighting among themselves, and where the strong hand of Britain is required in order to maintain peace and order among the people.

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If you approach the Orientalists in Europe, that is, the experts in Indology, you will find that they look upon India as a land of mystics and philosophers, a land which at one time produced a very rich philosophy, but which is today as dead as the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Babylon are dead today.

Now the question is, "what is India in reality?" No doubt we have a very ancient civilization, but unlike other ancient civilizations, such as Egypt or Babylon, Phoenicia or even Greece, the ancient culture and civilization of India is not dead. It still lives in the present. And we Indians of today think the same thoughts fundamentally the same thoughts, and have the same feelings, the same ideals of life, as our forefathers who lived 2,000 or 3,000 years ago. In other words, there in a continuity, historical and cultural continuity, extending from the ancient times till the present day—which is in some ways a very remarkable thing in history. Now, in order to understand India, this fundamental fact should first be understood, namely, that the India of the past is not dead. India of the past lives in the present, and will live on in the future.

Against this background, this ancient background, we see changes in our national life from age to age. During the last 3,000 years, people have come into India from outside with new ideas, sometimes with new cultures. All these new influences, ideas and cultures have been gradually absorbed into the national life of India, so that in spite of the fact that, fundamentally we have the same culture and civilization as we had several thousand years ago, we have nevertheless changed and moved with the times.

Today, in spite of our ancient background, we are able to live in a modern world and adapt ourselves to that world.

Those who have been influenced, whether consciously or unconsciously by British propaganda, have the impression that India was very easily conquered by the British and also that after the British conquest of India our country was for the first time politically unified. Both these notions are entirely wrong and without foundation.

In the first place, it is not true that India was easily conquered by the British. It took the British 100 years, from 1757 to 1857, to finally subjugate India. Secondly, it is also an entirely wrong notion to think that India was politically unified by the British. The fact is that India was for the first time politically unified nearly 2,500 years ago under the Buddhist Emperor, Asoka. In reality, the India of the time of Asoka the Great was even larger than the India of today. Asoka's India included not only modern India, but also Afghanistan and a part of Persia.

After the time of Asoka, India has gone through many ups and downs in her national life. There have been periods of decay, followed by periods of progress and national upheaval. But throughout these ups and downs in our national life, we have been able, in the long run, to keep our progress. About one thousand years after Asoka, India again reached the zenith of progress under the Gupta Emperors. This was followed by another glorious epoch in Indian history about nine hundred years later under the Moghul Emperors. Therefore, it

is worth remembering that the British notion that we have been unified politically under British rule is entirely wrong. All that the British have tried to do during their regime in India is to divide the Indian people and to weaken, disarm and emasculate them.

I shall now present before you a problem which will interest scientists, and in particular students of sociology. The question is whether the Indian people have any right to live as a free nation. In other words, have they the strength and the vitality left in them to live and to develop themselves as a free nation? I personally hold the opinion that if a nation once loses its vitality, its inner vitality, then it has no right to exist. And even if it does continue to exist after losing its vitality, that existence will have hardly any worth or value for mankind. The only reason why I stand for India's freedom and believe that as a free nation we shall have a glorious future is that I believe that we have sufficient vitality left in us to live as free men and to develop as a nation.

Now, if I have to answer this question as to whether sufficient vitality is left in us, I shall have to answer two questions: firstly, has our nation any creative faculty and secondly, is it prepared to fight and to die in order to preserve its existence? These two tests have to be applied to India.

With regard to the first question, we have seen that in spite of the British in India, in spite of the innumerable restrictions and disadvantages which follow from foreign rule, we have been able during the century to give numerous proofs that in different departments of our national life we still have creative power.

The number of philosophers and thinkers produced in India under British rule, the number of writers and poets that enslaved India has produced, the artistic revival in India in spite of British rule, the scientific progress made by the Indian people in spite of so many difficulties in the way of their education, the standard already attained by our leading scientists as compared with scientists in different parts of the world, the industrial progress made by India as the result of her own effort and initiative and, last but not least, the distinction which we have attained in the field of sport, all these go to show that in spite of being politically subjugated the vitality of the nation has remained intact.

If under foreign rule and in spite of the obstacles and restrictions that follow from foreign rule, we could give so much proof of our creative faculty, then it stands to reason that when India is free and when the masses of the Indian people are afforded educational facilities, they will be able to give much better proof of their intellectual calibre and creative faculty in different walks of life.

I have just referred to the first test of a nation's vitality, namely, creative faculty. I shall now consider the second test, namely, as to whether the Indian people are able to fight and to die for the sake of freedom. On this point I should like to say, first of all, that, since the last great fight that they had with the British in 1857, the Indian people have not given up the struggle against the enemy, even for one day.

Unfortunately, owing to what I would call the folly of our forefathers, after our final defeat in 1857, the leaders in those days had allowed themselves to be

disarmed. Whatever difficulty we have subsequently experienced in winning back our freedom has been due largely to our having been disarmed. But though owing to the mistake of the leaders the people were disarmed, nevertheless they continued to fight for their freedom in other ways.

I shall not take up your time unnecessarily by giving a description of all the methods that have been used in India against the British. I will only say this, that all the methods that have been tried by revolutionaries in different parts of the world for the achievement of their own independence have been tried in India.

At the beginning of this century, particularly after the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904 and 1905, the Freedom movement in India got a new impetus and since then, during the last 40 years, our revolutionaries have been studying very closely the methods of revolutionaries in other countries and they have tried to adopt as many of their methods as possible.

They have tried also to manufacture secretly arms and explosives inside the country and to use those arms and explosives for the achievement of independence. As a development of this struggle for freedom, India tried a new experiment—Civil Disobedience or Passive Resistance—of which the best exponent was Mahatma Gandhi. Though personally I believe that this method will not succeed in bringing us complete independence, there is no doubt that it has greatly helped to rouse and unify the Indian people and also to keep up a movement of resistance against the foreign government. I should, therefore, say that the

fact that in spite of all the difficulties that result from foreign rule, a nation can produce a new method and practise that method with a large measure of success is also a proof of that nation's vitality. It shows that, that nation does not accept enslavement as a settled fact and is determined to struggle against it and to work out new methods for achieving independence.

I have, as a revolutionary, made a very close study of the revolutionary movements in other countries, and I can say without any exaggeration that since 1857 we have used every possible method of revolutionary struggle. In the course of this struggle, tremendous sacrifices have been made and many have given their lives. There was, however, one method that still remained for us to take up and that was the organization of a real modern national army.

That work we had not done up till recently because it was impossible to do that inside India under the eyes of the British army and the British police. But the moment this war gave the Indian people an opportunity of organizing a modern Indian national army outside India they at once seized it. As a result of that effort, and with the help of the Japanese Government and the armed forces of Japan, they have been able to build up this army.

So my point is that throughout our revolutionary struggle against the British Government and their armed forces we have shown sufficient initiative, creative power and vitality and have made tremendous sacrifices. We now hope that under the conditions, and with the advantages that this war has given us, we shall be able, after all, to fulfil our national aspirations and win freedom for India.

Having replied to the question regarding the vitality of the Indian people and their right to live as a free nation, I shall now attempt a sociological analysis of modern India. If you are to understand modern India, you have to take note of three important factors. The first factor is the ancient background, that is, the ancient culture and civilization of India, of which the Indian people of today are conscious, and of which they feel proud. The second factor is the struggle which has gone on without any break or interruption since we were finally overpowered by the British. And the third factor consists of certain influences which have come into India from outside.

Modern India is composed of this ancient background, the unbroken national struggle against Britain, and the impact of influences from abroad.

I shall now deal, in some detail, with the influences which have reacted on India from outside and which have been responsible, to some extent, in making modern India what it is today. Among these outside influences, the first factor is the influence of Western thought which was crystallized in Liberalism, Constitutionalism and Democracy.

In other words, since 1857, modern liberal and democratic thought has been influencing the intellectuals of India to a large extent.

From the beginning of the present century, a new factor came into operation. After the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904-1905, the eyes of the Indian people were opened to a new movement in Asia, the movement for the revival, not merely of Japan—but along with Japan—of other Asiatic countries. Since

then, Indian thought has been greatly interested in Asiatic revival. During the last 40 years we have been thinking not merely of what was happening inside India, but also of what was happening in other parts of Asia.

Another important factor which had influence on our mind consisted of the revolutionary struggles that have gone on in different parts of the world. Indian revolutionaries studied the Risorgimento Movement in Italy under the leadership of Mazzini and Garibaldi and the struggle of the Irish people against their British oppressors. In Russia, before the last World War, there was, as you know, a movement against the Czar called the Nihilist movement. That also was studied. And nearer India the new awakening in China under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was also studied very closely and with great interest by Indian revolutionaries.

Thus, Indian revolutionaries have been exceedingly receptive to the influences exerted by revolutionary struggles abroad. Then during the last World War, when the revolution broke out in Russia and, as a result of it, a new government—the Soviet Government—came into existence, the work of that Government was studied with great interest in our country.

People in India have not been interested so much in the communist movement as in the work of reconstruction in Soviet Russia—in the rapid industrialization of that country and also in the way in which the Soviet Government solved the problem of minorities. It is this constructive achievement of the Soviet Government which was studied with great interest by people in our country. As a matter of fact,

intellectuals like our poet Tagore, who had no interest in Communism as such, were profoundly impressed when they visited Russia in the work of educational reconstruction in that country. Then there is another influence which came to India from outside in more recent times—I mean, the new movement in Europe headed by Italy and Germany called Fascism or National Socialism. This movement was also studied by our revolutionaries.

I have just dealt with some of the influences that have reached India from different parts of the world, from England, France, Japan, China, Russia, Germany and so on. I will now take up another question viz., as to how we have reacted to these influences—how much we have accepted and how much we have rejected out of these outside influences.

In dealing with this question of our reaction to these outside influences, I must first point out that there is a big gulf between our generation and the last generation. As typical exponents of the last generation, I would like to mention Tagore and Gandhi. They represent for us the last generation, and between their thoughts and ideas and the thoughts and ideas of our generation there is a big gulf.

If you study the works of Tagore and Gandhi, you will find that all along there is a conflict in their minds as to what their reaction to Western influence should be. So far as Mahatma Gandhi is concerned, he has never given us any clear solution of this problem. He has left people in doubt as to what his attitude is toward the acceptance of Western ideas. Generally speaking, his attitude is one of antagonism. But in actual practice he has not always acted in accordance

with his own ideas, the reason being that the rest of his countrymen do not share that inner hostility or antagonism which Mahatma Gandhi personally has towards Western ideas and conceptions.

You all know about Mahatma Gandhi's attitude on the question of violence of physical force. He does not advocate the use of arms, or the shedding of the blood of the enemy for gaining one's freedom. This attitude toward violence or physical force is closely related to his general attitude toward foreign influence, particularly Western influence.

Our generation has followed Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of a political struggle, but has not accepted his ideas on all these questions. Therefore, it would be a mistake to take Mahatma Gandhi as the exponent of the thoughts and ideas of the present generation in India.

Gandhi is in some ways a complex personality, and I would like to analyze his personality, so that you may understand him better. In Gandhi, there are two aspects—Gandhi as a political leader and Gandhi as a philosopher. We have been following him in his capacity as a political leader, but we have not accepted his philosophy.

Now the question arises as to how we can separate the two aspects. Why, if we do not accept his philosophy, are we following him ? Though Gandhi has his own philosophy of life, he is a practical politician and therefore, he does not force his own philosophy on the people. Consequently though we are following him in our political struggle, we are free to follow our own philosophy. If Gandhi had tried to

thrust his philosophy on us, we would not have accepted him as a leader. But he has kept his philosophy separate from his political struggle.

I have mentioned as representatives and exponents of the last generation Tagore and Gandhi. Now let us compare their philosophies. There are some points in which they agree, but in some other points they do not. The points on which they agree are firstly, that they would like to see the national struggle being conducted without the use of arms. In other words, on the question of physical force, they have the same views. On the question of the industrialization of the country, they also have the same views. Both Tagore and Gandhi are against modern industrial civilization. But in the realm of culture, their views are not the same. So far as thought, art and culture are concerned, Tagore is prepared to accept foreign influence. He believes that in the realm of culture there should be full co-operation between India and the rest of the world and there should be reciprocity. We should not be hostile or antagonistic to the culture or art or ideas of any other nation. In the realm of culture, while Tagore advocates full co-operation between India and the rest of the world, Gandhi's general attitude is antagonistic to foreign influence. We must however, remember that Mahatma Gandhi has nowhere given a very clear exposition of his views. I am only referring to his general attitude on this question.

I have previously remarked that there is a big gulf between the fundamental thoughts and ideas of the last generation and of our generation. I will now explain what I meant thereby. As I have just said, this

problem as to what our reaction should be toward foreign influence and toward industrial civilization troubled the leaders of the old generation all their lives and we see proofs of it in their actions. But this problem does not exist for us. It does not exist for us, because our starting-point is that we want a modern India based of course on the past. We do not believe that India can achieve freedom without the use of arms. Now once you take up this attitude, that for winning freedom we have to fight and to use arms, it follows that we must have modern industries to manufacture the arms. So we take our stand on modernism. We have to fight the enemy with modern methods and with modern arms—so we must have modern industries. What constituted the biggest problem for the old leaders constitutes our starting-point. The problem for modern India is not our attitude toward modernism or foreign influence or industrialization, but how we are to solve our present-day problems.

I believe that modern Japan will understand our generation much better than modern Japan understood the last generation in India. Our stand is virtually the same. We want to build up a new and modern nation on the basis of our old culture and civilization. For that we need modern industries, a modern army and all those things necessary to preserve our existence and our freedom under modern conditions.

Having dealt with this fundamental standpoint of my generation, I will go on to discuss some of the detailed problems. For the present, of course, the biggest problem is how to fight and win this war. But

that is a problem of which you are aware from what you have read in the papers or heard over the radio. I will now consider some of the problems of Free India. The moment India is free, the most important problem will be the organizing of our national defence in order to safeguard our freedom in the future. For that we shall have to build up modern war industries, so that we may produce the arms that we shall need for self defence. This will mean a very big programme of industrialization.

After satisfying the needs of our nation in the matter of self-defence, the next problem in the degree of importance will be that of poverty and unemployment. India today is one of the poorest countries in the world, but India was not poor before we came under British rule. In fact, it was the wealth of India which attracted the European nations to India. One cannot say that in the matter of national wealth or resources India is poor. We are rich in natural resources, but, owing to British and foreign exploitation, the country has been impoverished. So our second most important problem will be how to give employment to the millions of unemployed in India and how to relieve the appalling poverty which now exist among the masses of the Indian people.

The third problem in Free India will be the problem of education. At present, under British rule, about 90 per cent of the people are illiterate. Our problem will be to give at least an elementary education to the Indian masses as soon as possible, and along with that to give more facilities to the intellectual classes in the matter of higher education.

Connected with the question of education is

another problem which is important for India and that is the question of script. In India there are principally two scripts in vogue. One is the script known as the Sanskrit (or Nagri) script and the other is the Arabic (or Persian) script. Up till today, in all national affairs and conferences we have been using both these scripts. I must add that in some provinces, there are scripts in vogue which are modifications of the Sanskrit script. But fundamentally there are two scripts, and in all national affairs and conferences we have to use both these two scripts.

There is now a movement to solve this problem of scripts by using the Latin script. I personally am an advocate of the Latin script. Since we have to live in a modern world, we have to be in touch with other countries and, whether we like it or not, we have to learn the Latin script. If we could make the Latin script the medium of writing throughout the country, that would solve our problem. Anyway that is my own view and the view of my closest friends and collaborators.

I have referred to three important problems in Free India: National defence, how to remove poverty, and how to give education to the people. If we are to solve these three important problems, how are we going to do it ? Shall we leave it to private agency and private initiative or will the State take up the responsibility of solving these problems ?

Well, at present, public opinion in India is that we cannot leave it to private initiative to solve these national problems, especially the economic problem. If we leave it to private initiative to solve the problem

of poverty and unemployment, for instance, it will probably take centuries. Therefore, public opinion in India is in favour of some sort of socialist system, in which the initiative will not be left to private individuals, but the state will take over the responsibility for solving economic questions. Whether it is a question of industrializing the country or modernizing agriculture, we want the State to step in and take over the responsibility and put through reforms within a short period, so that the Indian people could be put on their legs at a very early date.

But in solving this problem, we want to work in our own way. We will, naturally, study experiments made in other countries—but, after all, we have to solve our problems in an Indian way and under Indian conditions. Therefore, the system that we shall ultimately set up will be an Indian system to suit the needs of the Indian people.

Now if we do not tackle the economic question from the point of view of the masses, the majority of whom are poor, if we do not do that in India, we shall produce the same confusion or the same difficulties in our country, as we see in China today. You see in China today a split between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. Personally I do not see why this should have occurred or why, if the Kuomintang Party has the interests of the Chinese masses at heart, there should be any need to have a separate party like the Communist Party under foreign influence.

Having learnt from experience, we do not want to repeat the mistake that China has made. We actually find today that because the nationalist movement in

our generation has identified itself with the interests of the masses, that is, of the workers and the peasants who form more than 90 per cent of the people, because we have their interests at heart, there is no *raison d'etre* for a separate party like the Communist Party. If the nationalists in India did not have the interests of the masses at heart, then you would have seen the same phenomenon as you see in China today.

Now we come to another question—namely, the political system of the Government. If we are to have an economic structure of a socialistic character, then it follows that the political system be such as to be able to carry out that economic programme in the best possible way. You cannot have so-called democratic system, if that system has to put through economic reforms on a socialistic basis. Therefore, we must have a political system—a State—of an authoritarian character.

We have had some experience of democratic institutions in India and we have also studied the working of democratic institutions in countries like France, England and United States of America. And we have come to the conclusion that with a democratic system we cannot solve the problems of Free India. Therefore, modern progressive thought in India is in favour of a State of an authoritarian character, which will work as an organ, or as the servant of the masses, and not of a clique or of a few rich individuals.

That is our idea with regard to the political institutions in Free India. We must have a government

that will function as the servant of the people and will have full powers to put through new reforms concerning industry, education, defence, etc., in Free India.

Before I pass on to the next problem, I should like to mention another point, namely, the attitude of Free India toward religion and caste. This is a question that is frequently asked. India has several religions. Consequently, the Government of Free India must have an absolutely neutral and impartial attitude toward all religions and leave it to the choice of every individual to profess or follow a particular religious faith.

With regard to caste, that is now no problem for us, because caste, as it existed in the old times, does not exist today. Now, what is the caste system? The caste system means that a community is divided into certain groups on a professional or vocational basis and marriage takes place within each group.

In modern India there is no such caste distinction. A member of one caste is free to take up any other profession. So, caste in that sense does not exist today. Then there remains the question of marriage. In the old times, it was the custom to marry within each caste. Nowadays, intermarriage between the different castes takes place freely. Hence caste is fast disappearing. As a matter of fact, in the nationalist movement we never inquire as to what caste a man belongs to and we do not even know the caste of some of our closest collaborators, which shows that in our generation we do not think at all about caste. For Free India, therefore, caste is no problem at all.

In this connection, I should like to tell you that it was the British who created the impression throughout the world that we are a people quarrelling among ourselves, especially over religion. But that is an absolutely wrong picture of India. It may be that there are certain differences among the Indian people, but such differences you will find in every other country. If we take the so-called progressive countries of the world e.g., France before the outbreak of the present war, or Germany before Hitler and his Party came to power, you will find that there were acute differences among the people in these countries. Spain had even a first-class civil war.

But nobody ever says that, because the people in these countries had disputes and differences, they are not fit to rule themselves. It is only in the case of India that the British say that, because there are certain differences among the Indian people therefore they are not fit to be free. Again, the fact is that whatever differences there are among the Indian people are largely the creation of the British Government. There are hundreds of examples to show you that throughout the history of British rule, the British have tried by every possible means to divide the Indian people. After having done so much to artificially create differences among the Indian people, the British turn around and say that we are not fit to be free.

I should also point out that if you take a modern Power like Soviet Russia and see how heterogeneous the composition of the Soviet Union is, you will realize that if, in spite of this heterogeneous character, so many different races professing so many different

religions could be unified in one political system and become such a strong Power, there is absolutely no reason why India which has much more homogeneity than the Soviet Union, should not be united as one nation. As a matter of fact, you will find that outside India, where there is no British influence, there are no differences among the Indian people. In the Indian independence Movement in East Asia and in the Indian National Army there is no question of religion or caste or class. It is just in India where the British have influence and control that you will find these differences.

On the question of national unity, I should like to give you a friendly warning that British propaganda tries to give the world the impression that the Muslims of India do not support the independence movement. This is wrong. Very often you read in the papers about certain organisations like the Muslim League or the Hindu Mahasabha. The British boost these organisations, because they are in their policy pro-British and are against the Indian National Congress, and they try to make out that the Muslim League represents the Muslims of India. But that is British propaganda. The fact is that the Muslim League and its leader, Mr. Jinnah, represent only a minority of the Indian Muslims. The majority of the Indian Muslims and nationalists and they support the independence movement, as much as anyone else. The President of the Indian National Congress is a Muslim, and so are many other members of the Congress, many of whom are in prison today.

These facts are not known to the outside world

and the outside world gets the impression that Mr. Jinnah represents all the Muslims of India, and that they are not supporting the nationalist movement. I would like to give out this warning about British propaganda.

I have already told you about the kind of economic and political system that we would like to have in Free India. Out of this, arises the problem as to what our political philosophy is. On this question, I gave my own views in a book I wrote about ten years ago called "The Indian Struggle." In that book I said that it would be our task in India to evolve a system that would be a synthesis of the systems in vogue in different parts of the world. For instance, if you take the conflict between Fascism (or what you might call National Socialism) on the one side and Communism on the other, I see no reason why we cannot work out a synthesis of the two systems that will embody the good points of both. It would be foolish for any one to say that any one system represents the last stage in human progress. As students of philosophy, you will admit that human progress can never stop and out of the past experience of the world we have to produce a new system. Therefore, we in India will try to work out a synthesis of the rival systems and try to embody the good points of both.

Now I would like to compare some of the good points of National Socialism and Communism. You will find some things common to both. Both are called anti-democratic or totalitarian. Both are anti-capitalistic. Nevertheless, in spite of these common points, they differ on other points. When we see National Socialism in Europe today, what do we find ? National

Socialism has been able to create national unity and solidarity and to improve the condition of the masses. But it has not been able to radically reform the prevailing economic system which was built up on capitalistic basis.

On the other side, let us examine the Soviet experiment based on Communism. You will find one great achievement and that is planned economy. Where Communism is deficient is that it does not appreciate the value of national sentiment. What we in India would like to have is a progressive system which will fulfil the social needs of the whole people and will be based on national sentiment. In other words, it will be a synthesis of Nationalism and Socialism. This is something which has not been achieved by the National Socialists in Germany today.

There are a few points in which India does not follow Soviet Russia. Firstly, class conflict is something that is quite unnecessary in India. If the Government of Free India begins to work as the organ of the masses, then there is no need for class conflict. We can solve our problems by making the State the servant of the masses.

There is another point which has been overemphasised by Soviet Russia and that is the problem of the working classes. India being predominantly a country of peasants, the problem of the peasants will be more important than the problem of the peasants of the working classes.

Another point on which we do not fully agree is that, according to Marxism, too much importance is given to the economic factor in human

life. We fully appreciate the importance of the economic factor which was formerly ignored, but it is not necessary to overemphasize it.

To repeat once again, our philosophy should be a synthesis between National Socialism and Communism. The conflict between thesis and antithesis has to be resolved in a higher synthesis. This is what the Law of Dialectic demands. If this is not done, then human progress will come to an end. India will, therefore, try to move to the next stage of political and social evolution. I will now pass on to the last point in my address, and that in our conception of an international order. On this point I have already spoken several times in Tokyo. I fully support the steps that have been taken through the Joint Declaration to create a new order in East Asia on the basis of freedom, justice and reciprocity. I have been personally greatly interested in international problems, having tried to work in several countries in order to get support for our movement and, in that connection, I also had the opportunity of studying the work of the League of Nations.

The experiment of the League of Nations has failed, and it is desirable and profitable for us to investigate as to why it failed. If I were to answer that I would say that it failed because the sponsor-nations were too selfish and short-sighted. The sponsor-nations were England, France and America. America dropped out of the League, so the Powers that controlled the League were England and France. Now those two leading Powers, instead of setting an example of unselfishness, tried to use

the League of Nations for their selfish interests and for their own benefits. The only basis on which we can set up an international order is freedom, justice and reciprocity. Therefore, the work in East Asia has commenced on the right lines. The only task that remains for us is to see that in actual work the principles embodied in the Joint Declaration are put into effect. If they are so put into effect, then the experiment will be a success. If not, then it will again prove to be a failure.

You must have seen in my speeches and press statements that I have been very enthusiastic about this Joint Declarations. There are several reasons. Firstly, it is on the right basis and on the right lines that the work has begun. Secondly, if you want to set up an international order, it has to have a beginning in a particular region. If we make it a success in one region, it can gradually be expanded all over the world.

It is very difficult to set up a world order suddenly out of nothing and make it a success. But if you begin in one region where friendship and reciprocity between the nations can be developed, and if in that region you meet with success, then that example will be emulated by other nations in other parts of the world. So the method of setting up a regional order is the only way in which a world order can gradually be built up.

The third reason is that I have found that this idea or plan finds support among the mass of the people of this country, and specially among the

youths. If I had found that this new order was being sponsored by a few politicians or leaders and that the rest of the nation was apathetic or indifferent, I should certainly not be optimistic. But it is because I have found that the people as a whole, and especially the youths are vitally interested in it and support it enthusiastically, that I believe that through the co-operation of the leaders and the people and the youths, it can be made a success.

I should like to repeat that this undertaking is for the Government and the people of this country a very great responsibility. As you know, your Government was responsible for sponsoring this idea, so you are the sponsor-nation. The success of this experiment will depend on the example set by the sponsor-nation. The League of Nations failed, because the sponsor-nations were selfish and short-sighted. This time if the nations that have joined together, and particularly the sponsor-nations, avoid a selfish and short-sighted policy and work on a moral basis, then I see no reason why the experiment should not be a success.

I should like to emphasize again the tremendous responsibility which Japan has undertaken by becoming the sponsor-nation in this task. And when I talk of the responsibility of the nations, I want also to stress that responsibility of the youths. The youths of today will be the nation and the leaders of tomorrow. An idea that is welcomed and supported by the youths will one day be supported by the whole nation. But an idea which does not find support among the youths

will die a natural death. Therefore, their responsibility for making this new order a success devolves, in the last analysis, on the youths of this country. I hope and pray and trust that the youths and the students who are the future representatives of the nation will realize the tremendous moral responsibility which Japan has undertaken in initiating this new order.

There may be people who doubt whether a nation can rise to a high moral level, whether a nation can be farsighted and unselfish and undertake the work of establishing a new order. I have every faith in mankind. If it is possible for one individual to be unselfish, to live one's life at a high moral level, I see no reason why an entire nation cannot also rise to that level. In the history of the world we have seen examples in which a revolution has changed the mentality of a whole nation and made it rise to a high level of morality. Therefore, if anybody has any doubt whether an entire nation can rise to that level, then I do not share that doubt.

I repeat, in conclusion, that the sponsor-nation should realise the tremendous responsibility that it has undertaken. This is a task not only for the leaders and the politicians, but for the whole nation and especially for those who are the hopes of the nation — the youths and the students.